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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1441

PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No. 1, Jan-Feb 1983

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents, the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language bimonthly journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI.

CONTENTS

English Summaries (pp 221-222).....	1
Information About Authors (p 220).....	4
EDITORIAL	
Editorial on Significance of Soviet Nationalities (pp 3-7).....	6
ARTICLES	
On the Scientific and Technical Potential of the Developing Countries (pp 8-18) (N.Ya. Shustrova).....	13
Effects of Apartheid on S. African Labor Supply, Productivity Detailed (pp 19-29) (V.M. Sharinova).....	31
Developmental Tendencies of Economic Thought in the Turkish Republic (pp 30-36) (P.T. Moiseyev) (not translated)	
Buddhism and Ethics in Early Medieval Japan (pp 37-45) (A.N. Meshcheryakov) (not translated)	

Idea of Traditional Islam as Form of Socialism Refuted (pp 46-56) (D.Ye. Yereneyev).....	48
---	----

#### An Exchange of Opinions

#### Class Formation and the Choice of a Path of Development

The Cities of Southeastern Asia: Problems of Social Structure (pp 56-64) (I.A. Zevelev) (not translated)	
---	--

#### COMMUNICATIONS

Multinational Corporations and Employment Problems in the Developing Countries (pp 65-69) (I.P. Matsitskiy) (not translated)	
The Victory of Great October and the Peoples of Western Africa (pp 70-75) (A.B. Letnev) (not translated)	
Earnest Jones and His Struggle in Defense of the Indians (pp 76-80) (T.F. Yurlova) (not translated)	
Pan-Africanism and the Pan-African Conference of 1900 (pp 81-88) (N.G. Shcherbakov) (not translated)	
The Chinese Book Miniature (pp 89-95) (N.A. Chervova) (not translated)	
Verbal Prefixes of the Tangut Language (pp 96-102) (K.B. Keping) (not translated)	

#### PUBLICATIONS

The Principle of "Li" in Minsk Law. Translation From the Chinese, Introduction and Commentary (pp 103-115) (N.P. Svistunova) (not translated)	
---	--

#### SCHOLARLY LIFE

Oriental Institute Holds International Conference on Asian Problems (pp 116-125) (B.M. Svyatskiy).....	63
Academy of Sciences Holds Conference on Afro-Asian Revolutionary Process (pp 125-132) (Yu.M. Vinokurov, Yu.M. Il'in):.....	77
The All-Union Conference of Historians of the Ancient and Medieval East (pp 132-137) (M.B. Piotrovskiy) (not translated)	



Conference in Sweden Views Ethiopian Socio-Economic Problems (pp 138-141) (M.V. Rayt, V.K. Vigand).....	87
Africanists in the Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa at MGU (pp 141-148) (N.V. Gromova, I.I. Filatova).....	90
Oriental Publications Planned for 1983 Surveyed (pp 148-151) (O.K. Dreyer).....	102
Oriental Institute Holds Conference on Afro-Asian State-Building (pp 152-157).....	107
Dissertation Defenses (First Half of 1982) (pp 158-161) (not translated)	

# CRITICISM AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Surveys

Scholarly Works on Formation of Afro-Asian Working Class Surveyed (pp 162-169) (A.M. Razinkina).....	110
New Works by Soviet Ethiopian Specialists (pp 169-174) (M.L. Vol'pe).....	116
The Caste Question and the Fate of Indian Sociology (Notes in the Marigins of the Book "India: Social Structure") (pp 175-181) (Ye. Rashkovskiy) (not translated)	

## Reviews

Southeast Asia: The Conditions and Factors of Reproduction (pp 182-186) (A.P. Muranova) (not translated)	
Book on Angolan, Mozambican, Guinea-Bissau Ruling Parties Reviewed (pp 187-192) (L.P. Panchenko, O.V. Martyshin).....	121
The Rural Commune in Northern India. Basic Evolutionary Stages (pp 192-202) (Ye.M. Medvedev, M.K. Kudryavtsev, L.B. Allayev) (not translated)	
Buddhist Monuments of Kara-Tepe in Ancient Termez (pp 203-205) (L.A. Lelekov) (not translated)	

## Notes on Books

The Developing Countries of Asia: National Monopolies and Politics (pp 206-207) (A.E. Azarkh, M.N. Kun'shchikov) (not translated)	
Book Views Lebanese Maronites as 'Ethnoconfessional' Community (pp 208-209) (M.Yu. Roshchin, M.A. Rodionov).....	128

Bourgeois Diplomacy in Armenia (The 1880s) (In Armenian) (pp 209-210).  
(Yu.G. Barsegov, V.M. Gevorgyan, Bzh.S. Kirakosyan) (not translated)

Gemeinschaftsunternehmen in Entwicklungslandern: Joint Ventures als  
Entwicklungsinstrument in den ASEAN-Staaten (pp 211-212)  
(S.V. Balashov, D.S. Ahn) (not translated)

Rubai in the Classical Poetry in Pharsi (p 213)  
(Dzh. Dorri, A.K. Kozmoyan) (not translated)

The Work of Ikhar Saykaku (On the Question of Innovation in XVII Century  
Japanese Literature) (pp 214-216)  
(K. Rekho, P.I. Red'ko) (not translated)

List of the Basic Orientalist Works by Corresponding Member of the USSR  
Academy of Sciences, Prof N.T. Fedorenko (On His 70th Birthday) (p 217)  
(not translated)

In Memory of Mikhail Aleksandrovich Drobyshv (p 218) (not translated)

In Memory of Aleksandr Ivanovich Petrov (p 219) (not translated)

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## SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES

N. Ya. Shustrova. Science and Technology Potential of Developing Nations.

The article examines in terms of quality and quantity the progress made by developing nations over the last 20 years. The study of this aspect of development has been neglected partly due to the lack of statistical data. The data available today allow for classification of developing countries as to their progress in science and technology, their specific features and prospects for future development, and the relation of science and technology potential to the level of economic development.

The developing nations cannot afford to wait until the socio-economic development engenders an ingenious "science-technology-production" system. To step up development they have to devise certain elements of this system, although the internal stimuli for modernization are weak.

The analysis of research and development in various parts of the developing world has demonstrated that only a few of developing nations had a certain science and technology potential by mid-70s, which they could use to modernize their economy through the import of technology. The rich oil-producing states were better off in this regard. However, as the experience testifies, restructuring of archaic socio-economic systems might give rise to social and political instability and thus impede the advance of science and technology.

V. M. Sharinova. South African Republic: Color Bar.

The article deals with the color bar in South Africa and its adverse effect on the national economy. It is demonstrated that the practice of the color bar leads to a dearth of highly qualified labor, low labor productivity and poor quality of white labor as compared with its high remuneration. Socially, the color bar is also fraught with harmful consequences.

In the late 1970s the color bar laws and regulations were largely abandoned. This, however, does not imply that the segregation has been given up as a matter of fact. The article analyzes the factors which account for its preservation.

Although the imperative of economic development and some other factors demand the color bar to be defeated, it would be too optimistic to believe that under the present regime the 1980s will see much headway in this regard.

P. P. Moiseyev. Economic Thought and Trends of Its Development in Turkish Republic.

The emergence of national economic thought dates back to the triumph of the national liberation movement under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk. The economic conceptions of the Turkish bourgeoisie as a ruling class were debated and worked out for the first time at the Economic Congress in Izmir (1923). In the document adopted at the congress the main emphasis was laid on the expansion of private entrepreneurship. In the 1920s the economic scene was dominated by principles of "economic liberalism." Starting with the late 1920s the idea of an active state participation in economic affairs had been growing ever more established. The transition in the 1930s to the policy of state capitalism (étatisme), the concepts of free trade and laissez faire gave way to protectionism and state control. The article discusses also at length the economic ideas of Kemal Ataturk.

Following the Second World War the leadership of the country gradually abandoned the doctrines of étatisme and resumed the policy of "liberalism," i.e. the creation of the best possible conditions for private (both national and foreign) capital. Conditions for the revival of the national economic conceptions had not been created until after the coup d'état of 1960.

Today, the Turkish economic thought is rather a complex conglomerate of various schools which essentially boil down to bourgeois, socio-reformist and socialist trends.

A. N. Meshcheryakov. Buddhism and Ethic Ideas in Japan of the Early Feudal Period.

Based on the comparative analysis of a collection of Buddhist legends "Nihon Ryoki" and early Sinto ideas, the article deals with the role played by Buddhism in the formation of ethic ideas in Japan of the 8th century. It is suggested that Buddhism spread to the spheres of spiritual culture either untouched by "Sinto, or lying" in the subconsciousness of culture. The Sinto (mythological) interpretation of myth and human being (as a tribal notion) is offered together with the Buddhist interpretation of a human being as an individual. "Nihon Ryoki" represents literature of "a new generation." Its significance lies primarily in its being a mirror of self-realization and at the same time a medium of psychogenesis. In terms of culture, taken in the broad sense of the word, "Nihon Ryoki" constitutes the emergence of a new type of texts, as compared to the old texts which relayed the tradition.

D. Ye. Yeremeyev. Patriarchal and Tribal Traditions as Reflected in the Sharia (Towards the Question of Social Origin of Moslem Law).

The interpretation of Islam as a socialist doctrine is based on the egalitarian elements of the Sharia. The author analyzes the social roots which, in his opinion, gave rise to these elements. First and foremost, these are the socio-economic relations which existed in Arabia during the period of early Islam and in those countries which were the first to become Islamic. It was in these countries that the basic forms of economic activity were nomadism and

irrigated agriculture. Both of them fostered communal land holding and land cultivation. This fact found its expression in the Sharia which does not know private land and pasture ownership in its classical interpretation. The patriarchal (tribe and communal) relations of nomadic and sedentary Arabian tribes, tribal traditions and the adat, a general law, which became part and parcel of the emerging Moslem code, had a significant impact upon the Sharia. Some tribal institutions were transformed in the Sharia, e.g. tribal idea of mutual help turned into charity tax (zakat), established forms of alms (sadaga, zakat al-fitr), non-profit money-lending, share-cropping, etc. Nomadic traditions accounted for a specific attitude to slavery (non-existent developed slavery and at the same time widespread slave trading). Looting of neighbors was transformed into jihad, a sacred war against infidels. Paying tribute, a typical characteristic of the early class relations, assumed the form of a taxation of non-Moslem population.

The early Sharia was an expression of the ideology of an early class society which embarked upon the feudal path of development. This accounts for the fact that the late Sharia preserved many characteristics of tribal law and pre-class traditions. However, many of the Sharia provisions became a fiction in the developed feudal society, e.g. the reference to the collective land property. Some other similar left-overs in fact camouflaged the feudal exploitation, or at best, alleviated it.

The socialist interpretation of the egalitarian elements of Islam ignores their essential characteristics which are an expression of social relations of a bygone period. In other words, this interpretation is not correct, historically, and utopian, philosophically.

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## EDITORIAL ON SIGNIFICANCE OF SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 83 pp 4-7

[Editorial: "The Leninist Course of Friendship and Cooperation Among Peoples"]

[Excerpts] The 60th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a convincing manifestation of the historic achievements of real socialism, of the triumph of Lenin's nationalities policy, and of the enormous international prestige of the world's first multinational workers' state. The workers' and peasants' state in which more than 100 nations and peoples have voluntarily united into a single union has been one of the greatest achievements of socialism. Our union of peoples in the framework of our socialist federation based, to use the words of its inspirer and creator V. I. Lenin, "on the fullest trust, on a clear consciousness of fraternal unity, and on the basis of an entirely voluntary agreement,"<sup>1</sup> has increased the strength of our country in accomplishing the tasks of socialist transformations and defending the gains of socialism. For the first time in history the multinational composition of the country has been transformed from a source of weakness into a source of strength and prosperity.

An entire historical epoch divides our day from December 1922. The road that has been covered was not an easy one. A union state of people of labor was being created for the first time in the history of mankind. And in order for it to be achieved, the party and the people had to solve quite a few difficult and complicated problems. One of them was a search for concrete state forms and institutions in which the ideas of the Marxist-Leninist program on the nationalities question needed to be invested. In the autumn of 1922 various tendencies revealed themselves in the discussion of this issue. Lenin's genius found the only correct path to the unification of the peoples. The path of socialist federalism. This meant the voluntary union of free peoples, the complete equal rights of all nations and peoples, and the free development of each republic and each people within the framework of their fraternal union. It meant the overcoming of nationalistic prejudices, the cultivation of an international consciousness, and a steady course aimed at the coming together of the nations and peoples of the country.

Legislative measures alone were not sufficient for this. The juridical equality of the peoples had to be reinforced by an actual equality. And this was more difficult. For many of the peoples of the former Tsarist Russia had begun

their path into socialism from a pre-capitalist stage of development--from feudal and even tribal and clan relations. Stereotypes could not be permitted in the actualization of social transformations and the choice of their forms and tempos. There had to be a careful consideration of the special characteristics of each nation, people, and ethnic group--of the level of their material and spiritual development, culture, daily life, and traditions.

Making use of the Soviet form of the organization of peoples' power, a form which was most understandable and accessible to the broad masses, step by step the party and state accustomed the peoples, large and small, to the construction of a new life. The policy of an outstripping development for backward areas played a decisive role in eliminating the actual inequality of the peoples of our country. The following facts testify to the dimensions of the work which was done. Whereas from the moment of the formation of the Soviet state to our day industrial production in the Russian Federation increased by 501 times, in the Kirghiz SSR it increased by 711 times during the same period, in the Tajik SSR--902 times, the Kazakh SSR--928 times, and the Armenian SSR--1,036 times.<sup>3</sup>

Gaps in levels of cultural development have also been eliminated in our country. The educational level rose rapidly in the national areas, and they formed their own intelligentsias. Today for every 1,000 inhabitants aged 10 years and older there are the following number of people with a higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education: in the Tajik SSR--613, Kirghiz--649, Kazakh--665, Uzbek--670, Azerbaijan--700, and in the Armenian SSR--738 people; this with an average all-union level of 670 people.<sup>4</sup> With respect to the number of their doctors, the former outlying districts of Tsarist Russia have left many of the developed capitalist countries behind. Whereas in the FRG there are 25.9 doctors for every 10,000 people, in the United States 22.5, and in Great Britain--16.4, in the Tajik SSR there are 23.9, Uzbek--29.5, Kirghiz--29.7, Kazakh--32.5, and in the Armenian SSR--35.5.<sup>5</sup> There has been an immeasurable rise in the standard of living of the workers.

Only a half century ago hardly anybody in Russia knew about the small peoples of the Far North and Far East--the Chukchi, the Yukagires, the Evenki, the Koryak, and so forth. Today novels, stories, and poetry are published in the languages of these peoples, as they are in the languages of all of the other peoples of the USSR. Thanks to translations into Russian, they are becoming known to a wide circle of Soviet and foreign readers. Academies of Sciences have been created in all of the union republics, and there is a wide network of research institutions in operation many of whose scientific achievements are at the very top level of world science. On the eve of the 60th anniversary of our Union, materials on the state of Oriental and Africanist studies in the national republics were published on the pages of this periodical, NARODY AZII I AFRIKI. They could serve as a special report on the essential contribution of the scholars of the fraternal republics to the development of one of the important branches of domestic social science.<sup>6</sup>

Thanks to the joint efforts of all of the peoples and nationalities which inhabit our country, during the 60 years of its existence the Soviet Union has

become a mighty industrial power which possesses a gigantic economic, scientific, and cultural potential. Whereas in 1913 pre-revolutionary Russia accounted for slightly more than four percent of world industrial production, in 1981 the USSR produced one-fifth of world industrial output. The Soviet Union has taken first place in the world for the production of petroleum, iron, steel, iron ore, coke, mineral fertilizers, mainline diesel locomotives, tractors, prefabricated ferroconcrete structures, cement, timber and milled material, wool fabrics, leather footwear, and butter.<sup>7</sup>

Summing up the results of our historic achievements, the CPSU, true to Leninist tradition, concentrates attention on what still has to be done for the country's further economic and cultural progress. The 26th CPSU Congress mapped out a magnificent program for the further development of the Soviet state. The decisions of the May and November (1982) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee serve as a reliable orientation point in the fulfillment of the Food Program, and in improving our system of economic management. All of the peoples and nationalities of our country perceive the party's decisions as their own close and vital affair.

There still is quite a lot to do in the field of national relations in order to reach the historic goal which V. I. Lenin defined not only as the coming together of nations, but as their merging. "Our successes in solving the nationalities question does not mean that all of the problems which are engendered by the very fact of life and work in a single state with a large number of nations and peoples have disappeared," Yu. V. Andropov said. "This is hardly possible as long as nations exist, as long as there are national differences. And they will exist for a long time, much longer than class differences."<sup>8</sup>

For this reason the perfecting of developed capitalism--the chief content of the party's and people's work at the current stage--has to include a well-considered and scientifically substantiated nationalities policy. One of the chief tasks today is to make even fuller use of the benefits and advantages of the unification of the peoples of our country into a single union, and to make more efficient use of the natural and labor resources, and of the climatic peculiarities of each republic, and to include them in the most rational manner possible in an all-union economic potential. This will require a further improvement of the siting of the productive forces, and regional specialization and cooperation.

The party is advancing the task of searching for new forms and methods of work which will make possible an even more intensive exchange of cultural values and mutual enrichment of cultures. "Of course, it has to be remembered here that the spiritual heritage, traditions, and everyday life of every nation contains not only that which is good, but also the bad and the obsolete. And, hence, still another task--not to conserve these bad elements, but to liberate oneself from everything that is obsolete, from everything that runs counter to the norms of Soviet communal living, socialist morality, and our communist ideals."<sup>9</sup> It is also important, the party teaches, that our natural and legitimate pride in our successes should not turn into national conceit and snobbery, and should not engender tendencies toward national insularity.

In view of the increased population migrations and the increased number of nationalities living on the territories of our republics, oblasts, cities, and so forth, it is becoming very important to increase the national detachments of the working class--the leading force of our society,--to have the proper representation for all of the nationalities in the various elements of our party and government agencies, to deepen socialist democracy, and to strengthen the internationalist education of the workers.

The USSR's rich experience in the transformation of social relations, in the solution of the nationalities question, and in economic, scientific, and cultural development is an invaluable possession of all of mankind. It is being carefully studied and widely utilized above all in the countries of the socialist commonwealth, and in the multinational young states which have arisen on the ruins of colonial empires and have begun or are beginning the construction of a socialist society.

The General Secretary of the Communist Party of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic Kayson Phomvihane has called the Soviet Union a "banner that summons us forward, and a light that is illuminating the way with faith and hope" for the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples. "In the concrete conditions of our country . . . the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos is making use of Marxist-Leninist theory and of the experience of the October Revolution and of the Country of Soviets."<sup>10</sup>

Leninist principles of interrelations between nations also determine the foreign policy of the Soviet state. They are most fully realized in the relationships between the USSR and the countries of the socialist commonwealth. At the basis of these relations is the principle of proletarian socialist internationalism, ideological unity, a community of goals, and comradely cooperation combined with full respect for the interests, distinctive characteristics, and traditions of each country. Despite individual difficulties, "the commonwealth of socialist states is a mighty and healthy organism which is playing an enormous and beneficial role in the contemporary world."<sup>11</sup> United by their common goals, the socialist countries are successfully accomplishing the tasks of a further improvement of political cooperation and economic integration, of the defense of their socialist gains and values against the onslaught of imperialism, and of strengthening peace and detente.

The Soviet Union has invariably stood for and continues to stand for the final elimination of colonialism and racism, and the support of the liberation and equal rights of peoples. "We are respectful of the nonalignment movement whose peace-loving policy is making a useful contribution to international life. We are resolutely and invariably on the side of those who still today are compelled to struggle for the freedom, independence, and very existence of their peoples, who are compelled to repulse the attack of an aggressor, or are under the threat of aggression."<sup>12</sup>

The Soviet Union has been making untiring efforts to develop good neighborly relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence with the countries

of developed capitalism and, above all, with the United States--the largest power in the capitalist world,--believing that such relations will be to the benefit of both countries, and to the benefit of the cause of peace. Our party and our people are opposing the policy of the massive growth of nuclear weapons and of a psychological and ideological preparation for war with a realistic and honest program for strengthening trust, for military relaxation, and for universal peace. The Soviet Union's principal position with regard to the issues of war and peace sounded out again in the report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yu. V. Andropov at the gala meeting devoted to the 60th anniversary of the USSR. "Our position on this issue is clear: a nuclear war must not be permitted--neither a small one, nor a big one, nor a limited one, nor a total one. . . . We are for an extensive and fruitful cooperation, free of dictate and interference in other's affairs, among all of the peoples of the planet for their mutual advantage and for the good of humanity. The Soviet Union will do everything depending upon it in order to ensure the present and future generations a calm and peaceful future. This is the goal of our policy, and we shall not retreat from it."<sup>13</sup>

The Appeal by the CPSU Central Committee, Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR "To the Parliaments, Governments, Political Parties, and Peoples of the World" which was adopted at the gala meeting on the 60th anniversary of the USSR is a document of great international resonance.

The Soviet Union's commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons is again confirmed in it, and it contains a call to other nuclear powers to adopt the same commitment. The Appeal speaks of the readiness of the Soviet Union to freeze its nuclear weapons arsenals on a mutual basis with the United States. Our country's most authoritative forum has come out for the rapid and fruitful conclusion of the Soviet-American negotiations on a limitation and reduction of strategic weapons and on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe, and for the most rapid attainment of an agreement on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The Appeal emphasizes the necessity for an immediate agreement on the complete and universal prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, for the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, and for the renewal of interrupted negotiations on all other issues of the limitation and reduction of armaments. It calls upon all of the states of the world to actively help to settle conflicts and eliminate hot-beds of tensions through exclusively political means.

The measures proposed by the Soviet Union respond to the hopes of all peoples. Their realization would help to strengthen peace--humanity's most valuable possession. It would make it possible to put an end to the theft of financial, material, and intellectual resources, and to make use of them for the solution of urgent global problems, including the eradication of poverty and hunger and of illiteracy and disease in the developing world. It would put an end to the involvement of the developing states in the arms race which is holding back the process of their economic and social progress, exacerbating the political situation, sowing discord and distrust among peoples, and facilitating the imperialists in intervening in their internal affairs.

The Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy is meeting approval in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Ali Nasir Muhammad, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council, and the Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen has said: "As supporters of peace and freedom, we place a high value upon the peaceful efforts and initiatives of the Soviet Union both as they apply to regions--the Near East, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, and the Arabian Peninsula,--and as they apply to Europe and the international arena as a whole."<sup>14</sup>

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has existed for six decades. For six decades Western "criminologists" and "Sovietologists" have been predicting the inevitable and rapid collapse of the Country of Soviets. Even the most objective of the is unable to believe in the fact that in our time--a time of an unprecedented exacerbation of national conflicts--there can exist a society in which different peoples which represent different languages, cultures, and traditions are able to live in peace and concord, and in which social development leads not to the exacerbation of national problems, but to their resolution.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is strong and will grow stronger year after year. A guarantee of this is the scientifically substantiated policy of the CPSU and its tested leadership of our socialist state. "Directing its policy toward the harmonious combination of national and international interests, the party is creating the kinds of social conditions in which the flourishing and comprehensive development of each nation serves as a precondition for the progress and flourishing of our entire fraternal union."<sup>15</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol. 40, p 43.
3. "The USSR in Facts and Figures in 1981," Moscow, 1982, p 102.
4. Ibid., p 18.
5. Ibid., pp 80, 188.
6. NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, Nos. 4-6, 1982.
7. "The USSR in Facts and Figures in 1981," pp 60-69.
8. PRAVDA, 22 December 1982.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., 23 December 1982.

11. Ibid., 22 December 1982.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid., 23 December 1982.

15. Ibid.

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## THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL POTENTIAL OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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[Article by N. Ya. Shustrova: "On the Scientific and Technical Potential of the Developing Countries"]

[Text] World scientific and technological progress on which the liberated countries still have a weak hold is exercising a by no means unambiguous influence on their internal economic development and foreign economic position. On the one hand, it would seem to create the preconditions for the overcoming of their backwardness, but, on the other, it creates difficulties for the accomplishment of this task by engendering new conditions for overcoming the backwardness of these states with respect to the industrially developed powers.

The different aspects of the influence of the scientific and technological revolution on the developing countries, and also the refraction of the component processes of this world revolution in an economic and social environment which has not yet matured enough for a fundamental reorganization on a scientific and technological basis and which, at the same time, cannot be transformed without the dissemination in it of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution have been studied in detail in the Soviet scientific literature.<sup>1</sup> This permits us to concentrate our attention on the aspects of scientific and technological development which have attracted relatively less attention, or on those which, in the light of the long-term development tendencies which became manifest at the end of the 1970s, must today be looked upon somewhat differently.

There is a fundamental difference between a scientific and technical system of productive forces which composes a definite unity and forms specific mechanisms of self-development, and the individual elements of this system which are introduced from without into an economy which on the whole is still making poor use of scientific and technical achievements. A country may employ a highly productive and super-modern technology in certain important branches of the economy, but with regard to the technological level of production taken on a national scale be nevertheless at a substantially lower level than those states which for various reasons have not mastered this technology in the given branch. The nucleus of a higher system of the productive forces is scientific and technical potential whose role consists in obtaining its own knowledge; in adapting the achievements of other countries to the conditions of the national



economy; and in promoting the crystallization in the economy of new forms of labor and production.

The first steps in the direction of their own scientific and technical potential have already been taken in a number of developing countries. On the basis of the existing data which is often very fragmentary, we shall attempt to classify the developing states by the level of their science and technology, and to determine the specific nature and probable prospects for their future growth with a view toward the fact that the differentiation of these countries manifests itself to no less a degree in the formation of their scientific and technological potential, and, perhaps, even more sharply than in relation to their general economic levels, and the gap with the developing states is deeper.

In order to move forward along the path of scientific and technological progress and to make more efficient use of capital and technology which is received from outside the developing countries have to create an efficacious scientific research sector which would be capable of critically selecting and employing foreign scientific and technical achievements and technology, adapting them to local needs. In the opinion of the Danish scholar I. Annerstedt, "the developing countries which do not have at least a minimal scientific research sector are to a substantial extent in the hands of those (above all, the multinational corporations) who control technology. . . . The capacity to make use of imported technology as a point of departure for further innovations depends upon the internal possibilities of these countries in the sphere of science and technology."<sup>2</sup>

The uniqueness and difficulty of the situation of the developing states in the sphere of science consists in the fact that they are unable to wait until at a particular stage of their scientific and technical and economic development the system "science-technology-production" begins to take shape in a natural way. The task of overcoming their economic backwardness forces the developing countries to design individual elements of the system (and its most important element--scientific and technical potential) at the early stages of their economic growth under the conditions of the kind of economy which does not provide a sufficient impulse for the renewal of production equipment on the basis of the latest models of equipment, technology, and scientific and technical experience ("know-how").

Scientific and technical potential, as it is understood in Soviet literature, is a complex of parameters capable of solving the problems of scientific and technical development.<sup>3</sup> Among these parameters, the following are usually included: the cadre level--their number, qualifications, and age composition; scientific information support--the existence of a country's own stock of scientific ideas and information about world achievements; material and technical support--the amount of the financing of science and its industrial base; and the organization of the scientific system, meaning the ability of the latter to work out and embody strategic principles of scientific development and to create optimal conditions for it. Some authors introduce into the concept of scientific and technical potential the indicators of the productivity and

economic fruitfulness of scientific research and experimental designing work (NIOKR), the number of discoveries and patents, the level of their realization in production, and the correlation between expenditures for science and the profitability of the introduction of scientific achievements into the economy.<sup>4</sup> In this case, scientific and technical potential is looked upon not only "in input"--meaning existing resources and the possibilities for a country's own growth, but also "in output"--from the point of view of what it is capable of giving to production. The opinion is also being expressed that scientific and technical potential should also have included in it certain characteristics of industrial development which are usually used to measure the scientific and technical levels of production: capital-labor ratio and energy-labor ratio, the use of computers, the time involved in the renewal of fixed capital, the share of new output in total output, and so forth.<sup>5</sup> Such a broad approach is, however, unjustified; it leads to a confusion between the concepts of the technical (or scientific and technical) level of production and scientific and technical potential which, in our opinion, would be more correctly looked upon separately, as an independent characteristic of scientific and technological progress in the developing countries.

Scientific research cadres are the key parameter of scientific and technical potential. Both absolute and relative indicators are important for its measurement. The former (the number of scientists, engineers, technicians, and auxiliary personnel) provide a conception of the scope and creative possibilities of a national science, since it is man with his cognitive abilities who is its chief productive force. The latter (the number of scientists and engineers per unit of population) characterize the relative level of the development of the scientific and technical potential in various countries.

In Table 1 we have compared the number of scientific research cadres in the developed capitalist countries and in the developing states, with both categories grouped by the level of their social and economic development.<sup>6</sup> As can be seen there is a quite clear correlation between the level of general economic development and the specific number of workers engaged in the NIOKR sphere (with a certain tilting in favor of the larger developed capitalist states). The mean indicators for the groups presented in Table 1 provide a proportion with an increasing gap separating the upper groups and an increasing scope for the extreme values which substantially exceeds the gap in the per capita gross domestic product indicators, and, namely (with a slight rounding off of figures) to 1:3:4:6:7:30:60. At the same time, the demarcations between the developing countries in relation to scientific and technical potential do not strictly correspond to the differences in the level of general economic development.

Table 1

Number of Scientists and Engineers Engaged in the NIOKR Sphere in a Number of Developed and Developing Countries

Countries	Years	Per 1000 People	Per Capita Gross Domestic Product, Dollars*
		Weighted Mean Value for Whole Group	
Large industrially developed capitalist countries (FRG, Italy, Japan)	1977-1978	240.0	5075
Small industrially developed capitalist countries (Australia, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Belgium)	1976-1977	124.0	7192
European countries with middle capitalist development (Spain, Portugal, Greece, Ireland)	1974-1976	27.0	2401
Groups of developing countries**			
Top			
I (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay)	1973-1978	23.0	1582
II (Iran, Libya, Kuwait)	1973-1977	16.0	7100
Middle			
IV-V (Peru, Algeria, Tunis, Ivory Cost, The Congo, Egypt, Ghana, Liberia, Zambia, Botswana, Nigeria, Cameroon, Senegal, Kenya, Togo, The Sudan)	1970-1976	14.0	788
Lowest			
VI-VII (Madagascar, Sierra Leone, Pakistan, Uganda, Central African Republic, India, Tanzania, Guinea, Benin, Zaire, Nigeria, Malawi, Chad, Somali, The Upper Volta, Lesotho, Mali, Rwanda, Ethiopia)	1970-1976	4.0	177

(Continued on next page)

(Continuation of Table 1)

Calculated on the basis of: UNESCO. Statistical Yearbook, 1975, P., 1976; 1977, P., 1978; 1980, P., 1981; UN Demographic Yearbook, 1975, New York, 1976; 1978, New York, 1979; UN Statistical Yearbook, 1975, New York, 1976; National Science Policies in Africa. UNESCO. Science Policy Studies and Documents, No 3, New York, 1974, pp 87-90.

\*The grouping of countries by per capita gross domestic product has been performed on the basis of the data published in the journal MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, No 1, 1979. The 1976 official exchange rate in current prices was used.

\*\*The number of scientists and engineers include foreigners working in the developing countries. There is no data in the statistics for countries of the III group which includes states with a relatively high level of per capita income and a small (up to 500,000) population. (This applies to all of the tables in the article).

The fullest idea of the situation with scientific cadres is derived as a result of a comparison of the absolute and specific (relative) number of scientific research personnel. If states are ranked by these absolute and relative indicators, it is possible to separate at least three groups among them (see Table 2 on the following page):

Table 2

Distribution of Certain European Countries of Middle Capitalism and Developing Countries by the Indicators of the Absolute and Relative Number of Engineers and Scientists in NIOKR

Absolute Number of Scientists and Engineers (Persons)	Relative Number of Scientists and Engineers (People per 100,000 Population)						
	Less than 0.1	1-3	3-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	24-40
More than 12000 7000-12000				India	Brazil		Argentina Spain Egypt
3000-7000 1000-3000			Nigeria	Pakistan	Peru Greece	Iran Ghana Venezuela	Portugal Uruguay Ireland
500-1000 300-500		Zaire Tanzania	Uganda	Kenya The Ivory Coast Cameroon	Senegal Lebanon	Tunisia	
100-300		Algeria Morocco The Sudan Mali	Madagascar Malawi Guinea Sierra Leone				
50-100	Chad	The Upper Volta Libya Benin Central African Republic Lesotho		Togo Liberia Congo Gabon	Mauritius	Kuwait	
Less than 50	Niger Rwanda Somali		Botswana				

1. The countries which possess a very negligible scientific and technical potential both in absolute and in specific terms. These are the majority of the African countries presented in the table which belong chiefly to the lowest and middle groups for their social and economic development indicators.
2. States which possess a relatively large scientific and technical potential, but one that is insufficient in specific terms. This is a small group of the largest Asian and African countries--Nigeria, Pakistan, and India.
3. States with a relatively large potential from the point of view of both its absolute and its relative size. These are basically the Latin American countries of the first group, and also countries of certain other typological groups (for example, Egypt and Iran).

Table 2 shows that most of the developing countries which have been selected for analysis possess a very unsatisfactory (from the point of view of the number of their scientific research cadres) scientific and technical potential, one which is insufficient for conducting effective research on a modern level, even in it were to be concentrated in the most important directions. If, in addition, it is considered that in many of the developing countries specified here there is a quite high proportion of foreign specialists in their total number of scientists and engineers, then the actual size of the national scientific research sector will prove to be even smaller.<sup>7</sup> Only with respect to certain developing countries which possess a large core of scientific workers (Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Egypt, India, Pakistan, Peru, Uruguay) can one speak today about the existence of a more or less efficacious scientific and technical potential capable with time of becoming an effective factor in development on the level of the demands of the world scientific and technological revolution.

Among the factors in the development of scientific and technical potential a growing importance belongs to the conditions and scope of its financing. One of the indicators here is the proportion of expenditures for NIOKR in the gross product. While in the early 1970s this indicator in the industrially developed countries came to an average of two-four percent, in the developing country groups it was 0.2-0.5 percent, fluctuating in certain states within a range of from 0.1 to one percent (see Table 3 on following page).

Only in 8 of the 36 states (in Argentina and Brazil from the top group of countries, and also in Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Senegal, and Togo which belong to the middle groups) for which we possess the pertinent data did this indicator approach the one percent recommended by the UN as a goal for a second decade of development. It can be seen from Table 3 that the differentiation between the different groups of developing countries with respect to their proportions of expenditures for science in their GNPs is small and could hardly be larger with such low magnitude values.

Another important indicator which indirectly reflects the conditions of NIOKR financing is the indicator of per capita expenditures for this item. When

Table 3

Relative Level of NIOKR Financing in Middle-Developed Capitalist and Developing Countries in 1970s

Countries	Expenditures for NIOKR (Weighted Mean Values for the Groups)		
	Proportion in GNP (Percent)	Relationship to Investments in Fixed Capital (Percent)	In Terms of Per Capita (Dollars)
Middle European capitalist countries (Spain, Portugal, Greece, Ireland)	0.4	2.1	7.2
Groups of developing countries:			
I (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Lebanon, Venezuela)	0.2	0.8	2.2
II (Iran, Libya, Kuwait)	0.3	1.8	2.8
IV-V (Peru, Algeria, Tunisia, The Ivory Coast, Egypt, Morocco, Ghana, Zambia, Botswana, Nigeria, Cameroon, Senegal, Kenya, Madagascar, Togo, Sierra Leone)	0.5	2.8	1.3
VI-VII (India, Pakistan, The Sudan, The Upper Volta, Malawi, Chad)	0.4	2.3	10.4

Composed and calculated on the basis of: UNESCO. Statistical Yearbook, 1975, P., 1976; 1980, P., 1981; UNESCO. National Science Technology Policies in the Arab States.--"Science Policies Studies and Documents," No 38, P., 1976. UNESCO. Les statistiques de la science et de la technologie Amerique Latine. L'experience des projets pilotes de l'UNESCO, 1972-1974.--"Rapports et studies statistiques," No 20, P., 1976; UNESCO. National Science Policies in Africa.--"Science Policy Studies and Documents," No 31, P., 1974; "UN. Monthly Bulletin of Statistics," August 1977; UN Statistical Yearbook, 1975, New York, 1976; UN. Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics, 1975, New York, 1976; 1976, New York, 1977.

we move from the more developed to the less developed countries its values (average mean ones on the whole for a group) steadily decrease. This testifies to the existence of a definite correlation between the average per capita indicator of expenditures for science and the level of economic development, a fact which is confirmed also by the distribution of countries by the amounts of their average per capita expenditures for NIOKR and by their membership in the groups formed on the basis of their level of economic development (Table 4, on following page). It follows from the table that the higher the level of the group of which the states are members, the higher, as a rule, their per capita expenditures for science. The differentiation for this indicator between the typological groups of developing countries (lowest, middle, top) is quite large: 1:3:6. The characteristic exception here, as in a number of other relationships, is made up by the petroleum extracting states.

Many researchers cite the lack of unity between the NIOKR sphere and production, and science's isolation from the economy's real needs as one of the chief obstacles to the growth of scientific and technical potential in the developing countries. While during the course of the scientific and technological revolution science is being turned into a direct productive force in the developed states, in the developing countries a substantial amount of their production equipment functions on a pre-scientific level. On account of the abyss which separates the economy from science, research topics in the developing countries are frequently far from national needs and are composed under the influence of the group of problems being worked upon in world scientific research centers.<sup>8</sup> This weakens both the creative potential of science and the connection between the problems being solved by it and local conditions and needs. The situation is aggravated by the fact that in most of the developing countries the scientific infrastructure, including, in particular, the agencies which plan and manage scientific development, is still only in the process of creation. The question of the most effective methods for organizing research is at the present time one of the most acute ones. Scientific and technological progress is taking place in the developing countries under worse information conditions than in the developed states. Whereas in the latter the situation is characterized by an "information explosion" which is being engendered by the problem of assimilating the rapidly growing stream of scientific literature, in the developing countries the publication of books in the various fields of knowledge is still meagre. Of course, scientific literature is purchased abroad, but buying it is seriously limited by the poor financial capabilities of the developing countries, and by the difficulty of choosing the necessary publications.

Because of the weak development of their information services and special scientific libraries the developing countries do not have ready access to the latest achievements of world science and technology. Scientific research here is frequently conducted in the blind. Abstract-bibliographical and information-consultative work is not organized satisfactorily. There are either no centers for the accumulation, systematization, and classification of scientific information and also technical documentation and patents, or else they are insufficient.<sup>9</sup>



Table 4

## Distribution of Developing and Middle Capitalist Countries by Groups and NIOKR Expenditures

NIOKR Expenditures	Groups of Developing Countries*						European Middle Capitalist Countries
	Lowest		Middle		Top		
	VII	VI	V	IV	II	I	
Per capita (dollars)							
More than 4.0							
From 2.0 to 4.0				Ghana		Brazil Venezuela Lebanon	Ireland Spain Portugal
✓ From 1.5 to 2.0			Egypt Togo Senegal	Mauritius			Greece
From 1.0 to 1.5	Madagascar		Cameroon Kenya	Peru Algeria Tunisia The Ivory Coast	Iran	Argentina	
From 0.5 to 1.0			Zambia Nigeria Morocco		Kuwait		
From 0.1 to 0.5	Upper Volta Malawi Chad	India Pakistan	The Sudan Botswana				
Less than 0.1	Somali				Gabon		

\*See note to Table 1.

According to the data of UNCTAD, in the middle 1970s only two-three percent of world expenditures for research and development was accounted for by the developing countries; in 1972 only six percent that is, 200,000 of the total number of patents in the world (which comes to 3.5 million) belong to these countries, and only 30,000 of them (less than one percent of the world total) were registered in the name of national patent holders, the remaining 170,000 were owned by foreigners, chiefly multinational corporations. As a rule, the proportion of Western patents possession in the developing countries is increasing. This tendency is also characteristic for a later time. During the second half of the 1970s the developing countries held only one percent of the patents registered in the world.

The data on industrial scientific research which has been integrated into production testifies to the lack of unity between the NIOKR sphere and production. As a rule, the proportion of research is relatively small, as is, in general, that of design testing and experimental work in the structure of research; a disproportionately large number of people are employed in the humanities and social sciences. The statistical publications by UNESCO contain materials on the distribution of scientific research between production and other spheres of the life of the developing states, and also about the type of research being performed (theoretical, applied, experimental, and so forth) only for a limited number of countries. According to the data at hand, the proportion of scientific research which had been integrated into production came in the 1970s in certain developing countries (with rare exceptions--Libya, Zambia, Pakistan, Togo) to less than 30 percent; the proportion of experimental and design testing work was approximately the same (in the developed states, for example, in England, Denmark, Italy, and Sweden the corresponding indicators were 50-55 percent).<sup>10</sup>

The prospects for scientific and technological progress in the developing countries are determined by the development of the sphere of higher education.<sup>11</sup> In the developing countries the growth of scientific and technical potential is influenced not only by the qualitative aspects of cadre training, but also by the degree to which the "capacity" of the top echelon of the educational system corresponds to the needs of the various spheres of the economy for specialists with top qualifications.

It follows from Table 5 that in 1960-1977 in all of the developing countries, without exception, there was a rapid increase in the number of students per 100,000 people in the population. In this way, there was an increase in the pool from which scientific research cadres could be recruited. In addition, the difference in growth rates led to the fact that the differentiation for this indicator between the various typological groups of states--the least developed, those occupying an intermediate position among the developing countries, the most developed of them (excluding the petroleum extracting ones), and the European countries of middle capitalism--decreased somewhat. While in 1960 their unweighted mean values for the groups the relationship was 1: 4:22:19, in 1976-1977 this relationship was 1:3:14:11.

Table 5

Number of Students and Their Average Annual Growth Rates per 100,000 Population  
(Mean Unweighted Values for Groups of Countries)

Countries	Number of Students per 100,000 Popu- lation		Average Annual Growth Rates From 1960 Through 1977 (Percent)
	1960	1976-1977	
European middle capitalist countries (four countries)	337	1190	8.2
Developing Countries			
Groups of developing countries:			
I (Seven countries: Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Lebanon, Mexico, Uruguay, Chile)	391	1498	8.8
II (Five countries: Gabon, Iran, Kuwait, Libya, Saudi Arabia)	55	541	15.4
IV-V (16 countries: Algeria, The Ivory Coast, Ghana, Zambia, Egypt, Cameroon, Kenya, The Congo, Liberia, Mauritius, Morocco, Peru, Nigeria, Senegal, The Sudan, Tunisia)	76	337	9.8
VI-VII (17 countries: Benin, The Upper Volta, Zaire, India, Indonesia, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Pakistan, Rwanda, Somali, Sierra Leone, Togo, Tanzania, Uganda, The Central African Republic, Ethiopia)	18	102	6.5

Composed and calculated on the basis of: UNESCO. Enseignement superieur tendances internationales 1960-1970. "Statistical Reports and Studies," 1975, No 19; UNESCO. Statistical Yearbook, 1975, P., 1976; 1978-1979, P., 1980; 1980, P., 1981; UN. Demographic Yearbook, 1975, No 4, 1976; UNESCO, Statistical of Students Abroad., P., 1969-1973.

But purely quantitative growth here does not at all guarantee success in the concentration of cadres for the accomplishment of the tasks of scientific and technological progress. What is important is how specialists with a higher

education are distributed and actually used in the economy, and how adequate their professional qualification structure is to the economy's actual needs.

The increasing "brain drain" to the developed countries exercises an enormous influence on the growth of the cadre component of the scientific and technical potential of the developing countries. Against the background of a shortage of highly qualified cadres in science and production, it takes on the character of a national catastrophe.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, if emigration by scientists is of a temporary character and becomes, in essence, a training period in foreign scientific centers, it can promote the transfer to the developing countries of the latest scientific and technical knowledge, progressive technology, and advanced industrial experience. The way to overcome an undesirable "brain drain" from the developing states to the developed ones is in a careful analysis of the reasons which motivate scientists, engineers, and other qualified cadres to leave their countries. Some of these reasons are hardly removable at the current stage of development: differences in the possibilities for creative work which are connected with the equipment level of scientific laboratories, the attractiveness of participating in the work of developed scientific collectives which have given a good account of themselves, much worse living conditions than in the developed states, and so forth. However, there also exist factors which are connected with the strategy and distinctive characteristics of the scientific and technical policy of the developing countries and which to a greater or lesser extent submit to management aimed at strengthening national cadres. An improvement of the material possession of scientists, and also of the spiritual and intellectual conditions of their work could avert or, at least, decrease the "brain drain" to foreign countries.

A domestic "brain drain" has equally negative consequences for NIOKR: from the spheres of their professional use in accordance with their qualifications scientists go into the state apparatus, into the different managerial agencies, and into the service sphere. The swelling of the state apparatus is taking place in many developing countries.<sup>13</sup> As is rightly noted by V. I. Maksimenko, this means the "bureaucratization" of intellectuals, and a movement by the intelligentsia into the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie."

In contrast to the developed capitalist countries where right up to the beginning of the scientific and technological revolution progress in science and technology was largely achieved in a spontaneous manner, outside of any national or other kind of coordination, in the developing countries this progress, beginning with the very establishment of their scientific and technical potential, of necessity has been under the control of the state. The weakness of the private economic sector in many of these countries, and its frequent lack of interest in conducting basic and applied research results in the fact that the dominant positions in NIOKR are occupied by state scientific research institutions and laboratories which are basically financed with public and foreign capital. It can be seen from Table 6 that in most of the developing countries the state is the basic source of capital for the performance of NIOKR; moreover, its share in the financing of NIOKR increases as we move from the bottom to the top groups of countries. Only the countries of the sixth group with a large

economic potential and, correspondingly, a relatively large absolute amount of resources which come to the disposal of the state are not covered by this tendency. Let us note, however, that the share of state financing in all of the groups of the developing countries (except the least developed ones) is higher than in the developed and European middle capitalist countries. And the proportion of foreign capital clearly decreases as we move from the less developed to the more developed groups.

Table 6

Distribution of Expenditures for NIOKR by Financing Sources in the Beginning-Middle 1970s (Percent)\*

Groups of countries	Share of expenditures		
	State capital	Capital of industrial enterprises	Foreign capital
Developed capitalist (Eight countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Japan)	43.7	51.0	1.5
European middle capitalist (Four countries: Spain, Portugal, Greece, Ireland)	54.0	37.0	2.5
Groups of developing countries (19 countries) Including:	64.5	6.5	26.9
I (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Mexico)	74.0	12.0	5.0
II (Iran)			
IV (Algeria, Ivory Coast, Mauritius)	57.3	17.9	19.5
V (Botswana, Egypt, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal)	61.3	6.1	55.8
VI (India, Pakistan)	90.0	10.0	----
VII (Upper Volta, Madagascar, Central African Republic, Chad)	38.0	0.5	56.8

Composed and calculated on the basis of: UNESCO. Statistical Yearbook, 1975, P., 1976; 1980, P., 1981.

(Table continued from previous page)

\*Mean unweighted values have been calculated for the groups. The total does not produce 100 percent, since only the basic financing sources are specified.

By concentrating the functions of stimulating and supporting science in its own hands, the state is placed before the necessity of planning and coordinating research on a country-wide scale. With a lack of experience and of the necessary cadres this task is a very difficult one. In some of the least developed countries scientific and technical policy does not have an institutionalized character.

On the whole, most of the developing countries attribute great importance to the development of their scientific and technical potential, rightly believing that this is the way to overcome their economic backwardness.

In summarizing what has been said it should be noted that the level of development of scientific and technical potential showed during the first half and middle of the 1970s a quite sharp differentiation between the different groups of developing countries. On the most general level, developing countries can be divided into four categories on the basis of the parameters of their scientific and technical work. One of them is made up of the most developed countries of the first group of the general economic classification, and also of some large countries of the lower echelon (India, Pakistan). With respect to them it probably can already be said that they have a developed scientific community which possesses its own traditions and is more or less independent in creative respects. In absolute indicators India spends more for science (452 million dollars in 1976) than such a relatively large middle capitalist country in Europe as Spain (277 million dollars in 1974).<sup>14</sup> Thanks to the dimensions of their economic potential, the large developing states possess a certain freedom of maneuver in the distribution of resources. The scientific and technical potential in them possesses a complex and diversified structure for the different directions of scientific knowledge. Research is conducted in fields whose emergence is possible only at a high level of scientific and technical development and which represent important spheres for the manifestation of scientific and technological progress (atomic and space research, electronics and radio electronics, cybernetics, and so forth). The relationships between the proportions of basic and applied research, and also of experimental and design testing work in these countries is close to the structure which has developed in the industrially developed countries. Nevertheless, they are still seriously behind the latter for all of the most important parameters which characterize the development of scientific and technical potential.

The second category of states consists of certain petroleum extracting countries. We possess data for pre-revolutionary Iran and for Libya and Kuwait. In principle these countries are capable of greatly increasing their scientific and technical potentials in the near future. Only it should not be forgotten that the creation of the nucleus of the scientific and technical system of productive

forces depends upon the modernization of all of the aspects of socio-economic life and production, since the possibility for the growth of a scientific and technical potential are by no means determined solely by the availability of monetary resources, but also by the conditions of converting this latter into real scientific productive forces. This is eloquently witnessed by the experience of the petroleum extracting countries.

The third category consists of the developing countries which occupy an intermediate position between the most and the least developed states. Most of these countries are making substantial efforts to promote the growth of their scientific and technical potentials, and many of them have already achieved obvious successes. In Kenya, Madagascar, Ghana, Senegal, and Togo the share of expenditures for research and development in the gross national product approaches the one percent recommended by the UN. In Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, Zambia, Zaire, and Cameroon this indicator, although lower, has to be set beside the number of scientific research personnel which in 1970 already came to several hundred people and, in addition, has been increasing at rapid rates. Nevertheless, the scientific and technical potentials in all of these groups of states is only beginning to take shape in an effectively functioning sphere of national NIOKR.

The last, fourth category contains most of the least developed states. They are appreciably behind the previous group for the basic specific indicators of scientific and technical potential (the proportion of expenditures for science in the gross national product and the number of scientists and engineers engaged in NIOKR per 100,000 population), although for their absolute values some of these states (basically, those states with average size populations such as the Sudan, Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Uganda) are ahead. The scientific and technical potential of this group of countries is still in an embryonic state--at the stage of the formation of the preconditions for its development.

Thus, a comparative analysis of the indicators of the NIOKR sphere in different groups of developing countries has revealed both common features between them and essential differences. Although it is still difficult to foresee whether the gaps between them in their levels of scientific development will continue to widen or with time will gradually narrow, nevertheless, taking account of the differences in the existence of the social, cultural, and economic factors for further growth, we are inclined to believe that in the future the differentiation between the groups for the absolute and relative parameters of scientific and technical potential will become even deeper.

The data which has been cited show that only the most developed of the developing countries which by the middle 1970s possessed the kind of scientific and technical potential on the basis of which and with the help of imports of modern equipment, technology, and scientific knowledge the gradual technical reconstruction of the economy could be more or less successfully achieved. Thanks to their large currency income, the petroleum extracting states of the upper group have definite advantages. Most of the developing countries which are in the intermediate groups will probably for a long time yet have to accumulate the economic, scientific and technical, cultural, and social prerequisites for the performance of any kind of thorough modernization of their economies.

It is obvious that the direction and speed of scientific and technological progress on the periphery of the world capitalist economy will to a considerable extent be determined by the character of the economic policy (domestic and foreign) of any given country. On the whole, the tasks of scientific and technical development which are an inalienable part of the transformation of a backward and dependent society can only be accomplished through economic and social progress.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example: "The Developing Countries: Science, Technology, and Economic Growth," G. Ye. Skorov, responsible editor and director of authors' collective, Moscow, 1975; R. M. Avakov, "The Developing Countries: The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Problems of Independence," Moscow, 1976; A. Yu. Shpirt, "The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Developing Countries of Asia and Africa," Moscow, 1970; "Scientific and Technological Progress and the Developing Countries," Moscow, 1976. A number of interesting ideas concerning the social aspects of the problem are contained in the article by Ye. B. Rashkovskiy in the collection: "Studies of the Sociological Problems of the Developing Countries," Moscow, 1973.
2. I. Annersted, "On the Present Global Distribution of Research and Development Resources," OCCASIONAL PAPER, Vienna, No. 1, 1979, p 11.
3. See, for example: "The Potential of Science," Kiev, 1969, p 19; V. Davydov, "The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Developing Countries," MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, No. 7, 1971, p 129, and others.
4. See, for example, the article by V. I. Iskol'pskiy in the book: "Scientific and Technological Progress and the Developing Countries," Moscow, 1976, p 216.
5. "The Developing Countries: Science, Technology, and Economic Growth," p 62.
6. Here and henceforth we are using the classification of countries by the level of their general economic development which has been proposed by V. L. Sheynis (see: AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, Nos. 1-2, 1980 and MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, No. 8, 1978).
7. In the middle 1970s the proportion of foreign specialists in the total number of scientists and engineers engaged in the sphere of NIOKR came, for example; in Tunisia--20 percent, Lebanon--23, Cameroon, Malawi, and Niger--62, the Sudan and Botswana--70, Libya--80, Zambia--88, and Kuwait--91 percent (calculated on the basis of: "UNESCO. Statistical Yearbook 1975, No. 9, 1976, pp 873-874; "UNESCO. Science Policy Studies and Documents," No. 38, P., 1976, p 18). It may be supposed that there is a similar situation in many of the other developing countries for which we do not have the appropriate data.



8. See, for example: V. V. Bhatt, "On Technology Policy and its Institutional Frame, WORLD DEVELOPMENT, Oxford, 1975, Vol. 3, No. 9; R. O. B. Wijesekera, "Scientific Research in a Small Developing Nation--Sri Lanka," SCIENTIFIC WORLD, London, 1976, Vol. 20, No. 1; J. N. Behrman and W. A. Fisher, "Science and Technology for Development: Corporations' and Governments' Policies and Practices," Cambridge, 1980; "UNCTAD. Planning in the Field of Technology as Carried Out in the Developing Countries: Preliminary Review" (document Tp/V/S/29) 1978; "UNESCO. Medium-Term Plan: 1977-1982" (approved document 19 C/4), Paris, 1977; "The Developing Countries: Science, Technology, and Economic Growth," Moscow, 1975.
9. "UNCTAD. Planning in the Field of Technology. . . ."; "UNITAR. The Obstacles to the New International Economic Order," New York, 1980, pp 89-90.
10. "UNESCO. Statistical Yearbook," P., 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979.
11. We are considering only those aspects of higher education which characterize the conditions for the formation of a scientific potential. For details on development in the sphere of education see: G. Ye. Skorov, "The Developing Countries: Education, Employment, and Economic Growth," Moscow, 1971; A. Ye. Shirinskiy, "Education in the Developing Countries," Moscow, 1977; and others.
12. According to UN data, during the period 1961-1976 more than 400,000 specialists left the developing countries for developed ones. (See: S. Tsukanov and I. Kukin, "The Liberated Countries and Scientific and Technological Progress," MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN', No. 12, 1981, p 68).
13. See, for example: V. I. Maksimenko, "The Intelligentsia in the Countries of Magrib (Ideas and Tendencies)," Moscow, 1980, p 58; G. I. Mirskiy, "The Third World: Society, Power, the Army," Moscow, 1976, pp 22-23.
14. "UNESCO. Statistical Yearbook," 1980, P., 1981. The recalculation into dollars has been performed at the exchange rate in current prices.

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2959

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ILL EFFECTS OF APARTHEID ON SOUTH AFRICAN LABOR SUPPLY, PRODUCTIVITY DETAILED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 83 pp 19-29

[Article by V. M. Sharinova: "The South African Republic: 'The Color Barrier'"]

[Text] The "color barrier" is one of the most odious imperatives of apartheid which is the ideology and policy of the ruling racist regime in the Republic of South Africa. Instituted as long ago as the beginning of the century, it still exists to this day, exercising a very powerful influence on the social life and economy of the country.

The term "color barrier" signifies a system in accordance with which non-whites and, above all, Africans are not permitted to enter the more qualified and higher paid types of work. The reserving of a number of jobs for whites which comprises the basis of the "color barrier" has been given legal status ("the Industrial Reconciliation Act" of 1924, "The Mines and Workshops Act" of 1924, and others), a fact which is probably unparalleled in world jurisprudence. The "color barrier" is also supported by contracts which are concluded by entrepreneurs with "white" trade unions, and by views, customs, and prejudices which during the years of the existence of apartheid have created in entrepreneurs stable behavior stereotypes, particularly in hiring practices, and so forth. In this way, two labor markets have arisen in the Republic of South Africa which until recently were almost completely isolated from one another: whites were offered only high paying and permanent jobs involving training and leading to promotion, not requiring any special strain, but capable of providing satisfaction; the other racial groups and, above all, the Africans were forever offered all of the remaining types of jobs, that is, those which do not require skills, which are low paid, heavy, monotonous, dirty, and, in addition, most often not permanent. The scope of the "color barrier's" action in the 1970s is characterized in Table 1.

Table 1

Distribution of Non-Agricultural Economically Active Population of the Republic of South Africa by Racial Membership and Types of Employment (1971)\*

	Total				Whites				"Colored"			
	Population		Participation		Distribution		Participation		Distribution		Participation	
	Thou- sands	Per- cent	by types of employment	Thou- sands	Per- cent	by types of employment	Thou- sands	Per- cent	by types of employment	Thou- sands	Per- cent	by types of employment
All types of employment (grouping of source)	4508.9	100	1385.2	100	30.7	449.4	100	10.0				
1. Employed basically in intellectual labor	1143.4	25.4	866.0	62.6	75.7	58.9	13.1	5.2				
Top qualification specialists	120.0	2.7	111.7	8.1	93.0	0.9	0.2	0.7				
Middle qualification specialists (teachers, draftsmen, medical workers, and so forth)	325.9	7.2	221.2	16.0	67.9	22.1	4.9	6.8				
Others (office workers, bank employees, sales personnel, and so forth)	697.5	15.5	533.1	38.5	76.5	35.9	8.0	5.1				
2. Employed basically in physical labor	3365.5	74.6	519.2	37.4	15.4	390.5	86.9	11.6				
Including workers**	3139.8	69.6	462.5	33.5	14.7	363.5	81.1	11.6				
Qualified (vocational- ly trained)	326.7	7.2	250.4	18.1	77.6	34.0	7.6	10.4				
Semi-qualified (on- the-job training)	1461.9	32.4	182.2	13.2	12.5	194.4	43.4	13.3				
Including miners, machine tool operators, and others	1351.2	30.0	29.9	2.2	2.2	135.1	30.1	10.0				
Unskilled workers												

(Table continued on next page)

Table 1 (Continued)

	Of Asian origin		Africans	
	Distribution by types of employment Thou- sands	Participation in corresponding type of employment (Percent)	Distribution by types of employment Thou- sands	Participation in corresponding type of employment (Percent)
All types of employment (grouping of source)	165.3	100	2509.0	100
1. Employed basically in intellectual labor	62.0	37.5	156.5	6.2
Top qualification specialists	22.5	1.5	4.9	0.2
Middle qualification specialists (teachers, draftsmen, medical workers, and so forth)	9.1	5.5	73.5	2.9
Others (Office workers, bank employees, sales personnel, and so forth)	50.4	30.5	78.1	3.1
2. Employed basically in physical labor	103.3	62.5	2352.5	93.8
Including workers**	92.3	55.9	2221.5	88.9
Qualified (vocationally trained)	6.4	3.9	35.9***	1.4
Semi-qualified (on-the-job training)	74.1	44.9	1011.2	40.3
Including miners, machine tool operators, and others				
Unskilled workers	11.8	7.1	1174.4	47.2
				87.0

Source: "South African Department of Labour Manpower Survey No. 9," April 1971 (See: P. C. W. Gutkind and I. Wallerstein, ed. The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa. L., 1976, p 244.

(Footnotes to table on following page.)

\*Domestics--a category of workers which is quite large in the Republic of South Africa--have not been included.

\*\*Excluding domestic services.

\*\*\*Including African workers employed in construction, ship repairs, and transportation who are trained, but who have not undergone a course of vocational training.

The negative influence of the "color barrier" is manifold and has become much stronger in recent years. A very acute shortage of skilled labor is usually cited as its most important result in the field of economics. "All of the skilled white workers are employed with higher salaries than ever before, and there are no more skilled workers"--such is the conclusion of observers.<sup>1</sup>

The official estimates of the shortage of qualified labor power are lower than the results of surveys which have been performed by scientific institutions; however, both are very high. Thus, the Minister of Labor F. Botha stated that by 1980 the Republic of South Africa would be able to meet 79 percent of its needs for qualified labor power; but according to non-official data obtained from a questionnaire of representatives of industrial and other companies, by 1977 the country had no more than 60-70 percent of its work force with the necessary qualifications.<sup>2</sup> There is a shortage not only of engineers and skilled workers, but also of employees and managerial and administrative personnel. According to an official forecast, by 1990 the Republic of South Africa will be lacking 1.4 million employees, 180,000 technical specialists, and approximately 760,000 skilled and semi-skilled workers; that is, in all, 2.3-2.4 million workers. But according to the calculations of Professor S. H. Windheim of Witwatersrand University who is also an advisor to the Chamber of Mining of the Republic of South Africa, by 1980 the shortage of skilled categories of labor power already came to two million people.<sup>3</sup> During the 1975-1977 economic crisis, when the demand for labor power decreased, the shortage of skilled workers, although it continued, became slightly less acute; when, however, the economy began to make its way out of the crisis this shortage held back its development even more than before. "A growth rate which exceeds five-six percent a year is engendering the problem of an acute shortage of skilled workers," the prime minister's Economic Advisor Brandt stated in 1979. Characterizing the situation in his branch, Grotsius, the director of the country's Federation of the Construction Industry, had the same thing to say in April 1979.<sup>4</sup>

However, the need for skilled labor is being influenced much more than by the above-noted market fluctuations by the development in the country of modern branches of industrial production which are making an increasing demand for trained workers. The problems which are engendered in this connection by the "color barrier" are aggravated by the fact that less qualified white labor is coming onto the labor market primarily as a result of a decrease in the proportion of whites in the total population.

The decrease in the participation by whites in material production is not only the result of their smaller proportion in the total population, but also of their concentration in the non-material sphere, a fact which has already been noted by students of the economy of the Republic of South Africa.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, the expansion of material production whose growth rates are outstripping the growth of the white population is inevitably leading to an increase in all branches of vacancies which cannot be filled by whites and which nevertheless must be filled.

Among the important economic consequences of the "color barrier" are the exceptionally high expenditures for the wages of the white work force, expenditures which in no way correlate with the contribution made by white workers to the production process and with the value created by them, and which only increase the overall production costs. The competition of purchasers of the labor of white workers is leading to a continual increase in their wages which are being called "extravagant," "wild," and "inflationary." A former personnel director of the Sigma Motors Company (a daughter enterprise of the Chrysler Company) characterized white workers as "skilled extorters" who, thanks to the artificial shortage of white labor power, are able to "hold companies as hostages for a ransom in the form of higher wages."<sup>7</sup>

At the same time, the "color barrier" inevitably has a negative influence upon the quality and productivity of the labor of white workers who often do not have stimuli to work because of their legalized privileges and because of the shortage of qualified labor power. "It is unrealistic to expect a high level of motivation for work from a white worker who at his job is so protected by the law and by his trade union": this is the conclusion of the South African Institute of Racial Relations--one of the most authoritative unofficial organizations which studies these problems.<sup>8</sup> In the 1970s 37 percent of the surveyed companies which possessed iron casting enterprise and shops complained of the bad work of white workers.<sup>9</sup> It can be assumed that this situation is widespread.

Truancies and a high level of labor turnover are frequent phenomena which accompany the use of the labor of white workers in the present-day Republic of South Africa. Observers report that "white workers feel completely free to choose ever new jobs in the search for higher wages." Labor turnover for certain categories of the white work force exceeds 100 percent. The Goodyear Company has reported that in the 1960s the annual labor turnover of the white work force at its enterprises fluctuated within a range of 130-170 percent; in 1973 the Colgate Company replaced certain categories of white workers at the level of 120 percent. There is an extraordinarily high turnover of qualified cadres at the specialized enterprises of the electronic industry in which competing companies lure workers from one another. In individual companies of the branch there are annual resignations of 35 percent of the white work force, which is substantially more than in other developed countries. "They will change a company and give it hardly any notice, and the money which has been spent on their training is lost."<sup>10</sup>

The pernicious social and moral influence of the "color barrier" is obvious. The means, on the one hand, of oppressing generations of non-whites, has, on the other hand, a corrupting influence on the white population. Statements about this by white inhabitants of the Republic of South Africa themselves are curious. The Afrikaner I. Van Der Spey, a former minister, observes: "White South Afrikaners are turning into lazy people for whom the slightest effort is burdensome."

They "are deprived of the advantages of honest struggle. . . . Society is being excessively protective of white children." We, he writes, "are the most slovenly people in the world, since we have become accustomed to having others clean up after us." "Apartheid is suicide for the white"--these words belong to the most important poet writing in Afrikaans B. Breytenbach.

Insofar as "the color barrier" has always hindered economic development, it has been violated throughout its entire existence. Deviations from the principle which is at its basis have been given the form of special agreements, contracts, and so forth. In fact, for several decades there has occurred a spontaneous erosion of the "color barrier." The following data testifies to the tempos of this process. Whereas in 1971 Africans comprised 58.5 percent of the skilled and semi-skilled workers (11 and 69.2 percent, as the data in Table 1 witness), in 1977 the figure was 64.6 percent. In 1971 Africans made up 17.6 percent of the specialists with a higher and secondary education (the first two sub-groups of Column 1 in Table 1), and the figure in 1977 was 20 percent.<sup>11</sup>

Given apartheid the process of the erosion of the "color barrier" can only be achieved in a racist way: first "coloreds" and people of Asian origin are moved into jobs which cannot be filled by whites, and only afterwards--when there is a complete absence of the former--are Africans given the jobs. According to Table 1, in 1971 5.1 percent of the "coloreds" and 7 percent of the Indians living in the Republic of South Africa were specialists with a higher and secondary education, while in 1977 the figures were 7.5 and 8.2 percent, respectively. Meanwhile, the proportion of Africans in this employment group practically did not change during this period--it increased by only 0.2 percent (from 3.1 to 3.3 percent).<sup>12</sup> Promotions are made, as a rule, with the agreement of "white" trade unions; for this reason, the further promotion of whites, particularly to controlling jobs, becomes a necessary condition for them. There can be no solution "from above" in the Republic of South Africa, since the very system of apartheid is a political guarantee for the privileged position of the whites.

The racist solution of the problem includes the kind of form of promoting Africans and other non-whites in which they are used at skilled and semi-skilled jobs without so-called qualification certificates (documents certifying the appropriate qualifications have been obtained). "Today," it is reported in a study, "more and more companies are training Africans for work which requires high qualifications. Although the Africans formally may not be permitted to do this work, the companies intend to use them without qualification certificates."<sup>13</sup>

Toward this end, Africans are frequently appointed to the position of "assistant" to a qualified white worker. "It has become customary for qualified white workers to have an African assistant. The gap (between them) in wages. . . is usually very large."<sup>14</sup> Another widespread method of using Africans at jobs which formerly were performed exclusively by whites is the fragmentation, or breaking up, of such jobs into several operations which, however, frequently require greater qualifications than the work performed by the Africans previously. Numerous surveys have shown that this method is universally used.

In view of what has been said it is clear that qualified work is in fact performed by a much larger number of Africans than would appear from the official data. However, neither their wages nor their other working conditions are comparable with those of the whites. Basing itself on the results of surveys, in July 1979 "Star" established that "qualified Africans receive only 57-65 percent of the wages of their white colleagues."<sup>15</sup>

Sometimes these differences are much larger. The dependence of wages upon race is illustrated, for example, by the materials of a survey which was conducted in 1972 with 1,400 workers at a brewery plant. They make it possible, first, to compare the labor expenditures of the representatives of different racial groups with their wages, and, secondly, to compare the wages which are received for analogous work in the Republic of South Africa and in the FRG (Table 2). As can be seen, the line senior (African) and the line chief (white) who in fact perform the same work have a fivefold wage gap between them.

Table 2

Labor Expenditures and Wages in the Republic of South Africa (Africans and Whites) and in the FRG

Job	Race	Monthly Wages, Rands	Job Evaluation in Points	Monthly Wages at Analogous Enterprise in FRG, Rands****
Loader	African	56	1.13	347
Heavy truck driver	African	143	3.60	377
Line senior (conveyor)*	African	95	4.67	412
Line chief**	White	472	4.53	429
Shift foreman***	White	585	4.80	611

Source: J. B. Knight and M. D. McGrath. Op. cit., p 257.

\* Directs workers on the conveyor.

\*\*Directs production on the conveyor.

\*\*\*Directs line chiefs.

\*\*\*\*Converted into rands at the official rate.



During the second half of the 1970s, as a result of an intensification of the class struggle, the wages of African workers increased. However, as a rule, the wages of white workers increased at the same time and, moreover, in such a way that the absolute difference between the levels became wider. Consequently, the unequal payment for equal labor was retained in the country and even increased.

Thus, the process of a certain erosion of "color barrier" which has been occurring in the Republic of South Africa in recent decades has been characterized by a complete disregard for the interests and needs of the African workers who are in need of the elimination of the humiliating restrictions of racial discrimination, of job titles which correspond to the work they perform, of full education and production training, work rich in content and promotion prospects, and the disclosure of the individual's potentialities and appropriate pay.

The process of a certain erosion of the "color barrier" which is occurring in the Republic of South Africa does not, in general, contradict the interests of monopoly capital for which in this case it is essential and sufficient that skilled labor be performed by someone; that is, it strives to extract from the reservoir of the African work force as much as it needs. If it is possible, by making use of the laws of apartheid, to reduce the wages of qualified labor, this is entirely suitable for the entrepreneurs. However, the capitalists have not been able to be content with the rates at which the above process has been taking place, or with those obstacles (created above all by the "white" trade unions) which had to be overcome every time and, for this reason, required an official annulment of the "color barrier."

During the second half of the 1970s the ruling circles of the Republic of South Africa, trying to soften the deepest contradictions which are created by apartheid, and also desiring to weaken the international isolation of the regime carried out certain reforms, including the extensive annulment of the reserve laws. Statements were made to the effect that the "existing procedure of bringing Africans into the dominant white economy is increasingly ineffective and obsolete,"<sup>16</sup> and that it is a source of enormous social and political tension and a target of international indignation. In 1977 reservations were lifted on 12 of the previous 25 work categories. The effect of the "Industrial Hiring Act" was halted in six other spheres of employment. In 1978 an additional three categories of reservation were annulled.<sup>17</sup> Finally, in 1979, in accordance with the recommendations of a special government commission headed by N. Wiehahn important changes were made in the labor legislation of the Republic of South Africa. In particular, the elimination of the "color barrier" was proclaimed.

What, as a result, was the reserving situation in the early 1980s? The noisy propaganda about the elimination of the "color barrier" produced an impression on certain observers. Even E. Süzman, a well-known liberal politician, believed that the "reservation system has in fact been abolished." Meanwhile, the situation can be characterized with the well-known expression: "The King is dead! Long live the King!" Indeed, the "color barrier" has not been annulled everywhere even legislatively: since the annulment in 1982 of still another form of reservation, it has been preserved in the mining industry.

At the same time, the legislative annulment of reservation in a number of very important spheres of employment by no means meant its actual elimination. For example, the annulment of the "reservation definition" in construction (No. 28) did not at all signify fundamental changes, since the law establishing racial hiring principles in this branch was retained--the "Act on African Construction Workers." The "color barrier," which is regulated by various laws, has been retained in a number of other spheres of employment. Scholars who have studied the situation in the Republic of South Africa during this period note that the "legal restrictions on the advancement of Africans continue to be one of the most serious obstacles (next in importance after the resistance of the white)."<sup>18</sup>

In a number of branches of the economy of the Republic of South Africa the advancement of non-whites was restricted for many years not on the basis of laws, but by agreements on so-called closed enterprises which were reached between entrepreneurs and white trade unions. These agreements included the condition that only members of the given trade union could be hired at the enterprise. According to the data of the N. Wiehahn Commission, in 1978 there were 49 contracts in effect with points "protecting" the interests of 346,000 white workers.<sup>19</sup> Since the contracts were concluded by a company and a trade union, the government's position always was that this form of "color barrier" did not concern it, and that it ought not interfere in free enterprise.

The N. Wiehahn Commission came out in favor of the preservation of the existing "closed" enterprises, but against the conclusion of new agreements of this kind; this recommendation was accepted and included in the "Amended Industrial Reconciliation Act." However, not all of the members of the commission accepted this recommendation. Some of them--two African members and three businessmen--took note in their report of the clear contradiction between the proclaimed rejection of reservation and the approval of the existence of "closed enterprises": "On the one hand, reservation should be destroyed; on the other, its most widespread forms should be eternalized and sanctioned in law."<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, the regime regarded a prohibition of new "closed enterprise" agreements as too radical a measure; in 1981 the former system was restored.

In those spheres of employment in which there are no "closed enterprises" the practical halting of reservation depends to a substantial degree upon the discretion of the "white" trade unions upon whose insistence reservation was instituted in the first place: Africans may occupy previously closed positions only with a unanimous decision by the so-called Industrial Council, that is, with the agreement of a "white" trade union.

In the meantime, there has been little change in the position of the "white" trade unions. The most conservative of them have obtained the legal retention of preservation in their branches.<sup>21</sup> Their position, like that of most of the others, can be expressed with the words of Yu. Grobler, the head of the "Association of Skilled Railroad Workers": "Although the workers recognize that there have to be some changes in reservation and access to jobs by non-whites, they do not believe that serious changes will take place in the near

future."<sup>22</sup> The journal AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL draws the correct conclusion that if the situation will continue to be determined by the white trade unions which possess the right of veto "the labor market will remain what it has always been under the apartheid legislation, namely, one that blocks the advancement of Africans every time this advancement threatens the position of white workers."<sup>23</sup>

As a result, as the ruling Nationalist Party stated in its pre-election manifesto, today the "white workers are more reliably protected than ever." The creation of an Industrial Court, a National Commission on Manpower, and other mechanisms which are supposed to become activated if only a single white worker is dismissed as a result of "unjust changes in the "conditions of employment" serve as an additional proof of this statement. For this reason, one cannot but agree with another assertion by AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL: "The government of the Republic of South Africa is seeking (and may find) a new and more effective method of protecting the dominant interests of white workers than was possible with the old apartheid structures."<sup>24</sup>

Nevertheless, the changes in the labor law are causing "dissatisfaction" among white racists, and this is having a powerful influence upon entrepreneurs, the government, and upon everyone who determines the advancement of non-whites. It is this circumstance which certain observers regard as the chief hindrance to the occupation by Africans and other non-whites of higher production posts and to a change in the structure of employment.

One of the most important obstacles to the actual elimination of the "color barrier" is the lack among non-whites, especially Africans, of the necessary education and training. The system of separate education for racial groups in the apartheid state which was instituted allegedly for the purpose of preserving their cultural originality means for non-whites and especially for Africans the kinds of curriculums, educational conditions, and teaching quality which by itself, regardless of other factors, sharply limits their access to modern education and to training in occupations which require high qualifications. Their insufficient education and training prevents Africans from filling numerous vacancies in cases when there are no other obstacles here.

The abyss between the qualifications which are essential and those which are possessed by the vast majority of non-whites who are seeking work is especially conspicuous in the modern new branches. Thus, in order to perform many of the operations in the electronic industry and in the production of computers a higher education is necessary. Yet, according to the official data, only two out of a thousand non-whites who begin to study obtain one. As a result, at American computer companies in the Republic of South Africa, for example, non-whites comprise no more than 20 percent of the labor force; moreover, in most cases they perform administrative or office functions, and not technical ones (a surprising modification of the "color barrier" resulting from the scientific and technological revolution). In all, according to various sources, from 18,000 to 30,000 people are employed in the production of computers in the Republic of South Africa; at the same time, not more than 100 non-whites are employed in programming and designing in the branch.<sup>25</sup>

The N. Wiehahn Commission studied the organization of production training performed by the Department of Labor, and, even by its conclusion, the department hindered the training of "coloreds" and people of Asian origins and refused production training to Africans, taking the position that such training should be carried out in the Bantustans. However, the law which was adopted on the basis of the commission's recommendations also did not give Africans access to production training in "white" areas, that is, everything in fact remained as before. Legislative restrictions (the "Apprenticeship Act" of 1922 with its 1944 and 1963 supplements, the repeatedly mentioned "Industrial Reconciliation Act," and the 1964 "Bantu Labor Act") continue to be the chief obstacles to the production training of Africans in the "white" Republic of South Africa.

In 1981 a "Personnel Training Law" was adopted which showed, as is stated in the report of the International Labor Organization, that "the government's policy regarding the separate education of different groups of the population would be carried most extensively in the field of vocational training. . . . The existing opportunities in the field of vocational training on all levels will not be accessible to all groups of the population." The practice of the beginning of the 1980s confirms this: in 1980 there were fewer pupils than in 1979 studying in the state technical educational institutions for Africans.<sup>26</sup>

Beginning with the 1970s state production training in the Republic of South Africa began to be supplemented to a certain extent by private training. The economic boom of the early 1970s and, subsequently, the "behavior codes"<sup>27</sup> campaign compelled capitalist companies to begin the development and realization of their own educational programs for the training of non-white skilled workers. In the opinion of certain scholars, the companies were more successful in the field of production training than in other spheres of social and philanthropic activity.<sup>28</sup>

Despite this appraisal, the scope of the production training performed by capitalist countries continues to be very modest in the second half of the 1970s, including with those companies which were the initiators and active participants of the adoption of the "codes."

As the results of surveys and other evidence show, the obstacles to the production of Africans at enterprises are the same as those which hinder the advancement of non-whites in general. Certain companies have stated that it is senseless to train non-whites if they cannot later be used at "closed enterprises"; others have spoken of the impossibility of training Africans on account of the opposition of "white" trade unions, and about their apprehensions connected with the impossibility of issuing Africans certificates verifying their qualifications; and one company stated that by promoting non-whites it will be compelled to put whites in controlling positions and "in the end . . . pay two people for the performance of a single job."<sup>29</sup>

For this reason, bound by their promises to assist the education of non-whites, the capitalist companies in the Republic of South Africa prefer to make announcements about big plans for the future, about the realization of various long-term projects in the field of education, and so forth.

A kind of vicious circle occurs: the "color barrier" cannot be eliminated in particular because there are not enough trained Africans, but the retention of the "color barrier" hinders their training in the necessary amount.

Finally, an important factor in the retention of the "color barrier" is contained in the very nature of the capitalist companies of the Republic of South Africa which, contrary to their widely announced declarations, are by no means striving for a "just labor practice." Businessmen, the South African journal FINANCIAL MAIL has written, should stop motioning in the direction of the government, since they do not create advancement opportunities for Africans "even when they are able to do this legally."<sup>30</sup> Frequently possessing every possibility for making important changes in the disposition of the labor force at their enterprises, the capitalist companies refrain from doing so. "Fewer and fewer companies are now saying that the laws do not allow them to employ equal opportunity programs. But the laws and the rules and the way they are understood and interpreted," observers note create a context which influences the behavior of companies."<sup>31</sup>

In dispelling illusions about themselves as a force which is capable of being an initiator of changes in South African society, the capitalist countries "do not wish to offend either the government of their own white workers" and "are afraid of losing customers." Sales companies also use as an argument the limited possibilities of Africans who have been promoted to the position of sales personnel, travelling salesmen, and so forth in "white" areas. The accommodation of the capitalism which is operating in the Republic of South Africa is also expressed in the fact that, as certain sources testify, "the fears of the companies regarding the opposition of the whites are even greater than the opposition itself."<sup>32</sup>

The following phenomenon has been noted by many observers: "The companies are prisoners of false ideas . . . about the South African laws. . . . Thus, they erroneously believe that the African trade unions are illegal. . . . They believe that the principle of the Nationalist Party--not a single African must supervise whites in white South Africa--to be the law,"<sup>33</sup> and so forth. This is partly explained by the complexity and confusion of the South African laws, by the fact that any changes are made on the basis of special permission, exceptions, and so forth, and not by means of the open abolishment of a previously existing law; it is characteristic, however, that the ideas of companies about the hindrances to promoting non-whites have always been exaggerated and not a single case is known in which a company has demonstrated a lack of information about the prohibitions which are imposed by apartheid.

An excessively low idea regarding the capabilities of non-whites, especially Africans, the lack of correspondence between their psyches and the requirements of modern production, and so forth which the capitalist companies share with the racists is an important motive in the preservation of the actual "color barrier." The stereotypes about the capabilities of Africans which have been instilled for decades by the apartheid system have sometimes created among the Africans themselves an overly low conception of themselves and this, of course, also hinders their advancement in production. A representative of

Esso has stated, for example, to a correspondent of TIME magazine: "Non-whites resist opportunities for advancement, since they grew up in a milieu which inculcated in them that they are in their right place."<sup>34</sup> According to the data of a survey, more than 40 percent of the respondent companies stated that the effectiveness of the labor of non-whites is negatively influenced by their conceptions of themselves as second-grade people and about the negligible possibilities for their advancement.<sup>35</sup> And although many non-whites dispute such conceptions of themselves by word and deed, one can speak of still another aspect of the oppression of non-whites in the Republic of South Africa for which the apartheid regime is also fully responsible.

An important indicator of the conservatism and accommodation of capitalist companies regarding the elimination of the "color barrier" is the insignificant advancement of non-whites to "white collar" positions and, especially, to managerial and control posts. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, it is frequently easier for companies to do this, since here it is not necessary to deal with the white trade unions; despite the fact that there are relatively few trained non-whites, they could to a certain degree fill existing vacancies. "The structure of employment in South Africa restrains the ardor of those wishing to promote non-whites," a representative of Consolidated Glass has stated on this issue. It is obvious that this point of view is shared by many. Only seven percent of the companies which filled out the first questionnaire from L. Sullivan--the author of the "Declaration of Principles" for the behavior of United States companies in South Africa--hired, as it turned out, Africans for managerial positions. At the enterprises of many companies there was not a single white-collar African, even of the lowest rank, while at most companies such people were in the single numbers. In 1978 General Motors, for example, had working only four Africans out of more than a thousand who were receiving a regular salary, and it was planned in 1979 to hire an additional four; only one salaried African participated in the operations of the Firestone Company. At the Goodyear Company only nine Africans<sup>36</sup> who comprised three percent of the "white-collar workers" were working as clerks. "Business also does not promote Africans to the top echelons of the managerial apparatus, although nothing prevents this." This authoritative source<sup>37</sup> goes on to report that there is not a single African on the boards of directors . . . of business organizations in the Republic of South Africa." Probably the most accurate characterization of the situation has been given by the FINANCIAL MAIL: "The Africans are losing in their struggle for more responsible posts, and the more responsible the post the more do they lose."<sup>38</sup> Thus, the "color barrier" has in no way been eliminated in the Republic of South Africa. The changes which have occurred concerned primarily the so-called legal reservation whose sphere has always been limited. According to certain calculations, during the time that it was most widespread legal reservation covered no more than four percent of the jobs performed by whites. "Reservation in and of itself is scarcely responsible for the scale on which Africans are kept from top administrative and professional positions"--it is impossible not to agree with this conclusion.<sup>39</sup>

The effect of the "color barrier" in the economy and the shortage of qualified labor caused by it determine the general structure of employment in the Republic of South Africa, one which is very different from the structure existing in

the developed capitalist countries and which is far from the demands being made at the present time by scientific and technological progress. Table 1 contains data on the employment structure in the Republic of South Africa. It should not, however, be compared with the corresponding indicators in other countries, since another methodology could be used there for obtaining the data. For this reason, we should use existing already made comparative calculations. While in the late 1970s and early 1980s in the United States 15 percent of the economically active population performed managerial, administrative, and technical functions, in the Republic of South Africa the figure was only 6 percent.<sup>40</sup> In accordance with another calculation, in South Africa only 10 percent of the labor force could be classified in the administrative, technical specialist, and skilled worker groups, while in the United States the figure was 30 percent and in Australia 21 percent. While around 40 percent of the South African labor force consisted of unskilled workers, in the United States the figure was 13 and in Australia 5.5 percent.<sup>41</sup>

Despite the fact that the needs of the economy and a number of other factors are impelling the elimination of the "color barrier," with the existing regime it would be too optimistic to count on a large amount of progress in this respect in the 1980s. We have various unrealized forecasts about the elimination of the "color barrier" (some of them have trustingly been cited in Soviet research). Thus, in 1977 the newspaper THE STAR predicted that as early as 1981 the Africans would comprise 70 percent of the country's skilled workers.<sup>42</sup> Other forecasts for the middle and end of the 1980s which we have at our disposal are also doubtful. The apartheid regime is well aware of what a threat the advancement of non-whites and their occupation of key posts in the economy would be for it. For this reason, there is every ground for believing that the situation as a whole will remain the same—one which hinders the actual elimination of the "color barrier" and permits that it be moved aside or that there be breaks in it only in individual cases. There can be no doubt that at the same time a search will take place for such forms of participation by Africans in the economy of "white" South Africa, including the performance of skilled work, which will make it possible not to give the African labor force economic power.

At the same time, one of the social results of the present policies of the South African racists in the field of employment and of the changes which are occurring in this sphere has been the appearance of a small privileged group of skilled non-white workers which, as the regime supposes, will in time together with certain other groups become a social bulwark for it and a show window of "separate development" for the outside world.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, 25 August 1980 p 6.
2. "A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1978," Johannesburg, 1979, p 187; "A SURvey . . . 1976," p 173.

3. "A Survey . . . 1978," p 187; D. Myers III with K. Propp, D. Hauck, and D. M. Liff, "U.S. Business in South Africa. The Economic, Political, and Moral Issues," Bloomington-London, 1980, p 84.
4. "A Survey . . . 1979," p 198, 244.
5. This sometimes leads to the fact that whites, even when they are seemingly occupying important positions in production, do not play a decisive role in it, for because of their small numbers they can be replaced. This is what happened, for example, during the strike by white miners--the members of the Miners' Union--in March 1979. With almost all of the mines seized, this strike nevertheless did not have a serious influence on mining: the officials working in the mines took upon themselves the duties of the strikers to supervise the African workers and performed blasting operations ("Africa Research Bulletin. Economic, Financial, and Technical Series," Exeter, 1979, Vol. 16, No. 2, p 5024B).
6. One cannot, however, agree with the point of view which is sometimes expressed that the above-named processes will allegedly lead to the complete or almost complete elimination of the white working class in the country. South African statistics (for example, "Suid-Afrikanse Statistieke 1978," Pretoria, 1978) show a definite stabilization and even increase in the proportion of white workers in individual branches (the mining industry, electric power engineering). The gradual disappearance of the white working class in the Republic of South Africa is effectively being hindered by such factors, for example, the advantages and privileges which are enjoyed by white workers (apparently, they are more substantial than the material stimuli which are offered in other spheres of employment), and also certain distinctive features of the Afrikaner part of the white population which are connected with its history, culture, and so forth.
7. D. Myers III and others, op. cit., p 90.
8. "A Survey . . . 1979," p 220.
9. FWP Journal," No. 11, 1976 (see: RZh "Economics of History." Summary volume, Moscow, No. 5, 1977, 5B145).
10. D. Myers III and others, op. cit., p 200.
11. SECHABA, No. 3, Vol. 12, 1978, pp 20-21.
12. Ibid.
13. D. Myers III and others, op. cit., p 83.
14. J. B. Knight and M. D. McGrath, "An Analysis of Wage Discrimination in South Africa," OXFORD BULLETIN OF ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS, London, No. 4, Vol. 39, 1977, p 256.



15. Cited from: "A Survey . . . 1979," p 192.
16. See, for example: AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN . . . , No. 4, Vol. 16, 1979, p 5101 B.
17. Ibid., 1978, No. 12, Vol. 14, p 4540 C; "A Survey . . . 1979," p 213.
18. D. Myers III and others, op. cit., p 88.
19. "U.N. Center Against Apartheid. Notes and Documents," No. 25/79. M. Shafer, "The Wiehahn Report and Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act," London, 1979, p 12.
20. Ibid.
21. In March 1979 the "Union of Mine Workers" organized a strike by white miners--the most massive work stoppage during the rule of the Nationalistic Party, that is, since 1948--as a sign of protest against the promotion of three skilled "colored" workers to jobs which formerly had belonged to members of the "Union of Mine Workers" (this strike was mentioned above). And although the strike ended in defeat, the report of the Wiehahn Commission which was published two months later against all expectations did not contain a recommendation for the immediate abolition of reservations in the mining industry. In the same way, because of the disagreement of the "white" construction workers' union changes abolishing the "color barrier" in construction were not introduced into the "Act on African Construction Workers."
22. D. Myers III and others, op. cit., p 86.
23. "Africa Confidential," London, No. 24, Vol. 20, 1979, p 3.
24. Ibid., pp 2-3.
25. D. Myers III and others, op. cit., pp 199-200.
26. The International Confederation of Labor. Sixty-eighth Session. 1982. A special report by the general director on the application of the Declaration on the Policy of Apartheid being conducted by the Republic of South Africa. Geneva, 1982, pp 17, 37.
27. The years 1977-1978 saw the publication of the "Statement of Principles" which was signed by a number of United States companies operating in the Republic of South Africa, the "Code of Behavior" for companies of the member countries of the EEC, and several other "codes" which proclaimed the elimination of all types of discrimination against non-whites, and assistance in promoting them, including by means of carrying out various training programs, a rejection of race segregation at the enterprises of these companies, and so forth. For the most part these promises remained on paper.

28. D. Myers III and others, op. cit., pp 103-105.
29. Ibid., p 106.
30. FINANCIAL MAIL, 3 December 1976 (see: "U.N. Center Against Apartheid," No. 27/77. M. Savage, "Costs of Apartheid," London, 1977, p 2).
31. D. Myers III and others, op. cit., p 11.
32. Ibid., p 85.
33. Ibid., p 90.
34. Ibid., p 88.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., pp 111-112.
37. M. Savage, op. cit., p 5.
38. FINANCIAL MAIL, 3 December 1976.
39. AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL, No. 24, Vol. 20, 1979, p 2; M. Savage, op. cit., p 5.
40. D. Myers III and others, op. cit., pp 84-85.
41. "A Survey . . . 1978," p 187.
42. THE STAR, 9 July 1977 (see: Yu. S. Skupko, "The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the New Phenomena, in the Economy of the Republic of South Africa (candidate's dissertation), Moscow, 1980, p 159).

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## IDEA OF TRADITIONAL ISLAM AS FORM OF SOCIALISM REFUTED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 83 pp 46-56

[Article by D. Ye. Yeremeyev: "The Reflection of Patriarchal and Tribal-Clan Traditions in the Shariat"]

[Text] One of the most important philosophical problems on the basis of which sharp skirmishes are taking place in the present-day struggle of theoretical and political doctrines in many of the countries of Asia and Africa is the relationship between scientific socialism and Moslem ideology. In a number of countries, for example in Saudi Arabia or Pakistan, reaction gives support to Islam and bases itself on it in a struggle against progressive forces. Many political groups in other Asian and African countries which are bourgeois or feudal in their social essence also make use of Islam for their own ends. In addition to this, "a liberation struggle may develop under the banner of Islam."<sup>1</sup>

Without dealing with those ideological currents which take openly hostile positions against socialism and proceed here from the irreconcilability of Islam and Marxist materialism, let us direct our attention to doctrines which attempt either to combine the ideas of socialism and Islam, or to prove the "socialist primogeniture" and even superiority of Islam over scientific socialism. These are, first of all, the ideas of so-called Moslem socialism which have become especially widespread in many Islamic countries in the last two to three decades.<sup>2</sup> All of these ideas are based on elements of egalitarianism which exist in Islam (as, incidentally, they do in many other religions--Buddhism, Christianity, especially early Christianity--and also in various Puritanical, Protestant, and heretical currents). There is no doubt that an analysis of the ideological conceptions which attempt to synthesize the ideas of scientific socialism and the social ideals of Islam is important. But before moving on to it, it is necessary to examine the base and the social routes which engender not only Islam as such, but the elements of egalitarianism which exist in it and impart to it a pseudo-socialistic coloring. From this point of view, attention has to be given in the first place to the Shariat--the system of Moslem law and ethics.

The Shariat is a summary of the rules of behavior for Moslems who already lived in a developed feudal society which reflected basically the social realities of precisely this society. At the same time, it preserved many of the traditions

of early Islam, the Islam of Mohammed. And it is in these early Moslem traditions that almost all of the elements of Moslem egalitarianism are concentrated. This article represents an attempt to distinguish these elements in the early Shariat which has been preserved with minor changes in a number of Moslem countries right up to our own day. The author has tried to find and substantiate a connection between early Moslem traditions which are survivals in the late Shariat and the traditions of the pre-Moslem society of Arabia. It was sometimes necessary in this study to go beyond the framework of the Shariat itself, and turn to an analysis of the origin of Islam in general.

There are several theories of the origin of Islam in the Soviet literature of Islamic studies. One of them is the "commerce and capitalist" theory whose authors M. N. Pokrovskiy, M. A. Reysner, and others--saw in early Islam primarily the ideology of the merchant elite of Mecca and Medina in the early seventh century. The second theory is the "slave holding" theory; its supporters--Ye. A. Belyayev, S. P. Tolstov, and others hold the conception of the establishment in Arabia of the seventh century of a slave holding system, which, in their opinion, found a reflection in the ideology of Islam. The third conception (N. A. Smirnov, L. I. Nadiradze) looks upon original Islam as the ideology of an early feudal society. There also exist the "nomadic" conception (initial Islam was the ideology of Arab nomads--the Bedouins), and an "agricultural" conception (according to which early Islam reflected the interests of the farmers of the Arabian oases). Both of the latter conceptions are confirmed by geographical and ecological proofs of a wider order: Islam became most widespread in the arid zone of Asia and Africa where the basic types of productive activity were nomadic herd raising and irrigation farming. Both of these conceptions are interconnected in the most direct way, since the special features of the development of social relations not only in Arabia, but in the entire zone of the subsequent dissemination of Islam--in Western, Central, and, partly, South Asia, and also in North Africa--were to a large extent determined by the specific nature of the economies of both the nomads and the irrigation farmers.<sup>3</sup> This specific nature was reflected in the norms of Moslem law.

Let us take the fundamental question of social relations--the question of property. As far as land is concerned, the essence is expressed in the Shariat in the following Hadiths: "The land and the sky belong to God"; "Pasture lands, water sources, and fire and salt" cannot be private property, "they belong to everybody." Thus, the Shariat contains no propositions regarding private ownership of the land in its classical meaning.<sup>4</sup> Moslem law consolidates the conception of land as a collective possession, something which is characteristic both for nomadic herd breeders who regard the land primarily as pasture area used in common by the nomadic group and for communal farmers who conduct irrigation farming. F. Engels had already pointed to the special attitude of irrigation farmers toward the land: "But why did the Eastern peoples not come to private ownership of the land, even to feudal ownership? It seems to me that this is explained chiefly by the climate and the character of the soil, especially by the great desert belt. . . . The first condition for farming here is artificial irrigation, and that is a matter either for a commune, or a province, or for a central government."<sup>5</sup> As for the nomads, the fact that

they did not have private ownership of the pasture lands is confirmed by numerous and diverse studies of this issue.<sup>6</sup> Both of these factors--the attitude toward the land, on the one hand, of the nomads and, on the other, of the irrigation farmers--gave rise to the appearance and to the long preservation in the countries of the East of state (more precisely state-feudal) ownership of the land.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, private ownership of livestock, which is characteristic both for nomads and for settled livestock breeders, was given the status of law and sanctified by the Shariat.

K. Marx was the first to call attention to the unique attitude of nomadic peoples toward the land. He wrote: "With the nomadic pasturing tribes . . . the land, like other natural conditions, appears in its original limitlessness, for example, in the steppes of Asia and on the Asian plateau. It is used as pasture land, and so forth, for the grazing of livestock which, in its turn, provides the means of existence to pasturing peoples. They regard the land as their property, although they never establish this ownership. . . . What is appropriated and reproduced here is in fact only the herd, and not the land which, however, is temporarily used in common at every stopping place."<sup>8</sup>

The geography of the initial dissemination of Islam is instructive also in another respect. It covers primarily regions (North Africa, Western and Central Asia, the Transcaucasus) in which patriarchal relations were still powerful. Thus, the basis of the societies which existed here was akin to that which engendered this religion, namely, the basis of the North Arabian society of the VI-VII centuries. Only for this reason did it become possible, as T. S. Saidbayev emphasizes, to transfer a certain part of the superstructure--legal, political, and ideological which had risen within the framework of Islam--to a new soil. Indeed, in Central Asia and in a number of areas of the Transcaucasus, for example, feudal institutions were at that time still in their initial form.<sup>9</sup> Local customs and traditional law--the Adats--dominated here. It is important that the Adats did not contradict the basic theses of the Shariat;<sup>10</sup> that is, they were engendered by a society which was approximately at the same level of development--patriarchal-feudal or early feudal.

Although Islam, strictly speaking, arose among the urban populations of Mecca and Medina, it could not but reflect the socio-economic relations of all of Arabia in which the nomadic and irrigation farming types of economy were the ruling ones, and social relations were dominated by communal relations which are characteristic for nomadic herd breeders and for settled irrigation farmers. The Shariat absorbed the traditional law of the Bedouins (Adat, Urf), and also many of the norms of the traditional law of the peoples of Syria, Iraq, Egypt, North Africa (for example, the Kanun of the Berbers), Iran, Central Asia, and the Caucasus where nomadic herd breeding and irrigation farming were also widespread.

In early Moslem Arabia court proceedings took place initially on the basis of the Adat. Mohammed, like the leaders of the nomadic tribes, rendered verdicts, seeing to it that they agreed with its enactments. Concrete facts can be used to trace how the enactments of the Adat were transformed into the enactments of the Shariat. Thus, after having undergone a number of changes in the Shariat,

the communal form of nomadic ownership of the pasture lands was applied also to other lands, finally acquiring in the Moslem countries the form of state-feudal ownership of the land in general. This transformation has been successfully demonstrated by L. V. Negrya. The basic form of ownership of the pasture lands among the nomads of pre-Islamic Arabia, she writes, was the communal form. The performance by tribal leaders of the functions of pasture land distributors was required in order to organize the economic activity of the collective of nomads, to regulate their movements, and to resolve controversial questions about pasture lands and waters, and in itself did not contradict the proposition on the collective ownership of the pasture lands. Within the framework of the preferential right of the nomadic elite to communal pasture lands there was also the right of the leader to allocate the "forbidden pasture land"--the khima. The peculiarity of this type of ownership consisted in the fact that in the event of a strengthening of a clan whose leader enjoyed this privilege on the basis of the subordination of other clans the khima could turn out to be one of the preconditions for the establishment of a monopoly by a leader over communal lands. The enactment of the khima was in essence an introduction into collective ownership of the rights of a tribal elite which had arisen. Mohammed and his successors accepted this institution. They legitimized the seizure by private persons of collective property, subordinating it to the sovereignty of the state as realized in taxes; the khima was recognized as the collective property of the tribe subordinated to state sovereignty; finally, a change in the status of collective ownership was sanctioned in order to create a general state land fund. In the latter case the khima acquired a new meaning which testifies to the development of the forms of state ownership of the land.<sup>11</sup>

It has to be noted that nomadic and pasture land livestock breeding was also of enormous importance for the settled Arabs. Thus, I. Gol'dtsiyer cites a hadith in which the origin of the rain prayer is connected not with farming (as with settled peoples) but with livestock breeding: once when the inhabitants of Medina were being threatened by a famine from a drought, the widow of the prophet Aysh advised them to make an opening in Mohammed's grave in order to "establish a direct connection between the buried one and the wrathful sky"; as soon as this advice was carried out, "the rain began to pour in streams, fresh grass grew up, and the livestock began to grow fat."<sup>12</sup>

The Shariat contains many regulations testifying to the leading role of livestock breeding. Thus, payment for blood (dia) is calculated either in the heads of livestock, or in cuts of fabric, or in gold and silver. The cultural products do not figure here, which is also significant. There are detailed regulations for the slaughter of animals, but there are no rules for the harvest. The Shariat censures an excessive enthusiasm for trade in wheat, barley, and other similar goods. The prohibition against pork and wine is connected with the way of life of nomads who grow neither the swine which are characteristic only for settled farming nor grape vines. Prohibition against the use of pork in food also exists in Judaism (the ancient Jews were nomads), and swine were also not raised by the nomadic Turks before their adoption of Islam, or by the Mongols.

Other nomadic (or--more broadly--general communal) traditions and views can also easily be found in the juridical enactments of the Shariat. It has to be emphasized, however, that the author by no means intends to ascribe solely to the nomads absolutely all of the tribal-clan traditions of early Moslem society. The tribal-clan structures and their corresponding traditions existed in Arabia both among the settled farming tribes and in the cities. But among the nomads they were most clearly expressed, being a determining factor of their social life. Thus, tribute giving which was characteristic for nomadic relations between a dependent tribe and a ruling one developed into a situation of unequal rights--both juridically and fiscally--for the settled population which had been conquered or subordinated by the nomads; this fact received a formulation in law in the Moslem states: in the Arab Caliphate these were zimma people and kharba people; in the Ottoman State--the tax-paying group was the rayya. Taxes were collected from all of these categories of the non-Moslem population in much larger amounts (twice to four times as much) than from Moslems. Thus, a poll tax--dzhiz'yu--and a land tax--kharadzh--were collected from the non-Moslems. In addition, the non-Moslems also paid the ushr tax--a tithe in kind from the produce of farming, animal husbandry, fishing, the crafts, and so forth. This tithe was also paid by Moslems, but its amount was established in the early Caliphate in the following way: from Moslems--one-quarter ushr,--from zimma people--a half ushr,--and from kharb people--an entire ushr.<sup>13</sup> It appears that in the early Caliphate there sometimes occurred a confusion between such concepts as war booty (ganima) and tribute (fay). It is not accidental that the collection of hadiths of Yahya ibn Adam (died in 818) explains the difference between them: "The ganima is that which Moslems have seized in battle, by force of arms; the fay is what they receive in accordance with the terms [peaceful] of a treaty; in other words--the dzhiz'ya and the kharadzh."<sup>14</sup> And so this hadith unambiguously interprets the taxes on non-Moslems as a tribute which is collected from a subordinate population.<sup>15</sup>

There are facts which provide evidence that the legal consciousness of the early Moslems perceived the taxes collected by them from a conquered population as the economic realization of protection--zimma. This, for example, is eloquently indicated by an instance which is described by Al-Balazuri: when on account of a forthcoming battle with the Byzantines the Moslems had to leave the city of Khims and, consequently, were unable (at least juridically) to provide protection for its inhabitants, they returned to them the kharadzh which had been collected from them.<sup>16</sup>

As one of the most primitive forms of exploitation, tribute-taking was characteristic of many early class societies, but it was most characteristic for the societies of nomadic livestock breeders which collected tribute from dependent agricultural populations; as A. I. Pershits notes, Strabon was one of the first to call attention to this. The flowering of tribute-taking is connected with the military activeness of early class societies and states. The imposition of a tribute upon conquered neighbors by the founders of the ancient states of Mesopotamia and Mesoamerica, the ritualized collection of tribute in Yin and Zhou China and the Arab kharadzh from non-believers, the ancient Russian polyud'ye and analogous institutions among the Celts, Germans, and Scandinavians--

are only the best known in an endless number of examples of the tribute exploitation of this transitional epoch. Tribute exploitation was widely practiced by the ruling elite of the Scythians, Sarmatians, and Huns, by the Mongol and Turkish nomads of Central and Middle Asia, by the Afghans, the Bedouins of Arabia, the Tuaregs of the Sahara, and other nomadic groups of ancient times, the Middle Ages, and of modern times.<sup>18</sup>

This was a leading form of exploitation in tribal society. And as the cruelest form, it was taken outside of this society. In Islam tribute turned into a special taxing of the non-Moslem population, while within the Moslem community institutions developed which trace their roots to tribal-clan relations and which masked the exploitation of fellow-believers. This was, above all, a transformed mutual assistance among kinsmen and members of the same tribe. In Islam this custom developed into a philanthropic tax--the zakyat--which is collected from the rich for the poor, and which is sometimes incorrectly called alms. (Alms are the sadaka, or, more precisely, the sadakat at-t'atavu--"alms from a sudden impulse" which signifies a good deed in any amount, and also zakyat al'-fitr--alms which are distributed after the end of a fast and the amount of which is strictly established by the Shariat.) The payment of the zakyat tax, which is very clearly prescribed by the Koran (58:14)<sup>19</sup> is mandatory for every healthy Moslem if he has a definite annual income.<sup>20</sup>

The fact that the Shariat and the dogmas of Islam regard the lending of money to be pleasing to God is also a reflection of the custom of mutual assistance. There are numerous statements about this in the Koran and in the hadiths.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, the Koran and the Shariat categorically prohibit usury (for example, 2:276); money can only be lent without advantage to oneself. The roots of this are again in the custom of tribal-clan mutual assistance which has to be disinterested. In addition, the prohibition against collecting interest on a debt was originally directed against usurers from the urban population who had enslaved Bedouins. In order to partially meet the needs of the have-nots and give them work, the Shariat also demands that well-to-do people rent their land, housing, things, and animals.

As is known, the moral and ethical norms of Islam condemn slavery. However, the Koran and the Shariat establish the preservation of a number of slave-holding institutions, particularly domestic slavery (the use of slave labor for household work).<sup>22</sup> At the same time, for a thousand years the slave trade flourished in the Moslem East. And it was preserved for the longest time on the "sacred land of Islam"--in Saudi Arabia.

Household (patriarchal) slavery and the slave trade are two phenomena which are immanently characteristic of nomadic society. Slaveholding among the nomads never became a leading form of exploitation; it continued to be domestic. This occurred for a number of reasons. First, nomadic livestock breeding does not require a large number of hands, for in general "in animal husbandry, when it is conducted on a large scale, the mass of the labor power employed is very small compared to the constant capital in the form of the livestock itself."<sup>23</sup> Indeed, among the Kalmyks, Turkmen, Yuryuks, and Mongols, for example, two



mounted shepherds graze a herd of from 1,500 to 2,000 head, while two shepherds on foot can graze a herd of from 500 to 800 head. At the same time, the need for labor power was easily met on the basis of internal reserves--the existence of the commune ensured specific forms of cooperation, and private ownership of the livestock led to the fact that there was always a stratum of have-nots and of those who had little who as workers had advantages over slaves: they were acquainted with the specific nature of the work of a livestock breeder (the grazing of livestock is a highly skilled job which requires interest, initiative, and vocational skills), were more reliable since they belonged to the same tribal-clan group as the work providers, and their exploitation was frequently covered up by tribal-clan mutual assistance. Secondly, the slave-shepherd could easily very simply run away. This is why slave labor was used almost exclusively for household work, and also in such relatively limited spheres of production as the processing of animal husbandry products, and the digging of wells.<sup>24</sup>

The nomadic institution of patriarchal slavery gave rise to the custom of forming military detachments of slaves or prisoners which became widespread in a number of states which had been founded by former nomads. Among the Huns and the Turks these detachments were the *toba*; this tradition also became firmly established in certain medieval Moslem states--among the Seljukids (*Gulyami*), the Ottoman Empire (*Janissaries*), Egypt (*Mamelukes*), and Iraq (*Kyulemens*).

Nomads were able to easily seize (along with other booty) prisoners because of the military superiority of their society over a settled one. But only a small number of the prisoners were used as slaves. Most of them were sold to other settled societies, or were freed for a ransom. The Scythians and the Sarmatians had supplied the ancient slave markets. Slave trade took on large dimensions among the ancient Turks, Pechenegs, Oguzy, Polovtsi, Turkmen, Mongols, Tatars of the Golden Horde, nomadic Uzbeks, and Kazakhs. The situation was the same in pre-Islamic Arabia. This specificity of nomadic slave-holding (household slavery and a developed slave trade) continued to exist later in Moslem countries, for example, in Saudi Arabia.

The Shariat contains a mass of enactments on trade. They give a detailed treatment of the rights and duties of buyer and seller, and of the ethics of their relations. In his youth Mohammed regarded trade as sacred and beneficial. He himself engaged in caravan trade, entering the service of the merchant's widow Khadidzha who later became his wife. The wealth and support of Khadidzha, and also the profitable trade became the material basis for Mohammed's prophetic mission. As A. Masse observes, in his calls to the people of Medina to seize Mecca Mohammed, who had moved to Medina, combined religious arguments (the liberation of "Islam's capitol") and economic trade arguments (the establishment of the hegemony and trade which was being disputed by the people of Mecca). In practice, he attempted to paralyze Mecca's trade: he intercepted and plundered caravans.<sup>25</sup> Nor is there anything accidental about the versions which state that Islam was born among traders, and the opinions of certain scholars that this religion reflects the worldview of the trade and artisan strata.<sup>26</sup> However, for the nomadic livestock breeders also trade had a paramount importance.

Indeed, money-market relationships reach a high level of development in nomadic society. K. Marx observed: "Nomadic peoples are the first to develop a form of money, since their property is in a mobile and, consequently, directly alienated form and since their way of life constantly brings them into contact with alien communities and thus motivates them to exchange products."<sup>27</sup> Since the remotest antiquity livestock played the role of money both in settled and nomadic societies. Thus, among the Indo-Aryans a cow was a unit of value. In many languages the origin of the word "money" itself is connected with livestock breeding: the ancient Russian word "scot" meant "money," and the Latin words "pecus" (livestock) and "pecunia" (money) are also of the same root. Such Russian words as "den'ga" and "tovar" are of Turkic origin, that is, came from a nomadic environment.

The development of market-money relationships among the nomads was stimulated by the special nature of their economy. Primarily livestock breeders, they were interested in trade to a much larger extent than their settled neighbors who, as a rule, had a complex agricultural-livestock breeding economy and a developed artisan production. The economy of nomads cannot be autarchic; it is always goods oriented.<sup>28</sup> If for whatever reason settled peoples limited or broke off trade with the nomads, the latter frequently would defend their right to this trade with force. This is the way the Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols acted in relation to China.<sup>29</sup> A treaty concluded by the Huns with the East Roman Empire in 434 had a special stipulation on the opening of markets for trade with them. The Scythians who lived near the Black Sea had an acutely need to trade with the Hellenes. Thanks to the nomads entire "trade cities" arose on the fringes of the steppe (desert) and oases, a fact which had already been noted by Eastern authors of the early Middle Ages.<sup>31</sup> Finally, caravan trade was one of the "classic occupations" of almost all nomads, and cities--trade and crafts centers--also arose at the crossroads of caravan routes. Mecca and Medina were precisely such centers.

The Shariat contains many points about leasing. Thus, an agreement on payment-in-kind share-cropping leasing can be concluded between two parties, one of which provides goods or real estate, for example, livestock or land, while the other invests his labor, making use of this property. The income is divided according to definite terms. For example, the livestock owner commissions the shepherd to pasture his herd and to receive the dairy products from it on condition that a part of the butter and cheese go to the owner. These relations which in Soviet nomadic studies have received the name of "saunnye"<sup>32</sup> are characteristic for all nomads--from the Arabs and Turks to the Tuaregs and Masai.

It is possible that share leasing and livestock raising was brought by the nomads, when they seized agricultural territories, into land leasing. One of the specific characteristics of feudalism in the East is the widespread nature of payment-in-kind share-cropping in the exploitation of the peasants without formal restrictions on their freedom and without serfdom, a situation which is also characteristic for the exploitation by the tribal elite of ordinary nomads. The following fact testifies to the direct connection between saun and share-cropping in farming. In Turkey where payment-in-kind share-cropping

has been preserved as a survival on many farms to this day it is named with terms which etymologically are common for livestock grazing (ortaklama) and farming (ortakchilyk), which mean "participation" and "partnership," although, in fact, this is an obvious "share-cropping" form of exploitation.<sup>33</sup>

With the weak development of class relations in the early Middle Ages instances of compensation-free saun can also be met with among the Arab livestock breeders, a fact which also was reflected in the Shariat.<sup>34</sup> The compensation-free leasing of property, including land, which is called ariya in the Shariat can be compared with compensation-free saun. The eighth century legal scholar Abu Yusuf writes about the ariya in the early Arab Caliphate.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, the substantial development of money-market relationships among the nomads gave rise to the appearance also of a monetary form of leasing (idzhar, idzhara) about which we are informed by the same source.<sup>36</sup>

In addition to livestock breeding, the Bedouins also had as their basic occupations hunting, trade, and also attacks on neighbors which are known from remote antiquity (gazv, or rezzu). In an attack on a neighboring nomadic or settled tribe the livestock and, frequently, the women and children were driven off (a ransom was later taken for the captives). The Koran directed these raids and attacks against the infidels: it is clearly prescribed in it that war should be made against polytheists and people of other faiths, that they should be exterminated, and their property seized (2:186-190, 212; 3:5, 229, 36, 74, and others). Later, after the spread of Islam, the raids acquired among the Arabs and, then, among other Moslem peoples (for example, the Seljuk Turks and the Ottoman Turks) the religious and ideological basis of a "holy war against the infidels"--gazavat (plural of gazu), or jihad. The Koran (8:42) and the Shariat established the rules for the sharing of booty seized during a jihad (including captives) among Moslems.<sup>37</sup> Thus, we have the refraction of an ancient nomadic custom into one of the principles of Islam. The jihad is regarded by some ulema as the "sixth column of Islam" along with the five generally accepted ones--monotheism, fivefold prayer, fasting, the payment of zakyat, and a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Many students have already observed that Islam transformed the tribal-clan ideology of blood brotherhood into the ideology of spiritual brotherhood. In particular Ye. N. Frolova calls attention to the fact that Islam speaks of the merging of various clans, tribes, and denominational groups into a broader, but at the same time limited community which under no circumstances coincides with all of "intelligent humanity." The concept of clan is not reinterpreted in the Koran, but only receives a new and wider interpretation according to which property, communal-corporative, and political dependencies are placed in the same category as blood relationships and are realized by means of them.<sup>38</sup>

With regard to criminal matters, the Shariat has preserved a number of punishments which go back to tribal-clan customs: retribution through identical action (kisas), that is, the general rule of patriarchal law of "an eye for an eye," and blood punishment for murder, wounding, or mutilation (dia), which is also characteristic for the same level of social development. The Koran also encourages the custom of blood vengeance (for example, 2:173) which is characteristic of

all tribal-clan societies, but, limiting it, it is true, to personal vengeance against the culprit.<sup>39</sup>

The Charter of the Moslem commune of Medina which was made up, as some people believe, by Mohammed was based on the ancient rites of brotherhood adoption: he merged into a single whole the two basic Medina tribes--the Aus and Khazradzh--which had been competing with one another, and also the local inhabitants and settlers from Mecca.<sup>40</sup> In original Islam there were even more tribal-kin, particularly nomadic, traditions. Here is what G. M. Kerimov writes about the burial rite of the nomads and early Moslems. The Bedouins "had no knowledge of special cemeteries. As a rule, a dead person was simply buried in the earth without any grave markings, or left in a place where he would immediately become the prey of predatory creatures. The pre-Islamic poetry of the Arabs contains quite a lot of information about this. When a dead or murdered hero was buried, as a sign of empathy a camel was killed at the burial site, and no one ever returned there again; soon all of the traces of the burial disappeared. One of the hadiths says that no memorial markings should be left at the burial site of a Moslem. A grave has to be levelled with the earth in such a way that when one takes seven steps from it it cannot be distinguished from the surrounding soil."<sup>41</sup>

A distinctive feature of the Shariat's regulation on property inheritance is the lack of the right of parents to limit the number of their heirs: a father cannot leave all of his property only to a single son or daughter, if he has several children.<sup>42</sup> The inheritance is divided equally: the sons' share shares are equal, and the daughters' shares are equal; however, the sons receive twice as much as the daughters. This also is a reflection of the norms of patriarchal law: men and women are equal in their age and sex groups, but the former get the priority. I. P. Petrushevskiy has noted another distinctive feature of Moslem law regarding property matters: the Shariat obliges a wife to obey her husband, but the husband's power is applied not only to the wife's individuality, but also to her property: this is an essential difference between the Shariat and European feudal and (later) bourgeois law.<sup>43</sup>

Finally, one additional comment about the genetic closeness of the Shariat and tribe-clan customs. According to the Shariat, the female Moslem does not have the right to marry a non-believer. At the same time, a Moslem man may marry a Christian or a Jew. This religious endogamy in relation to women (like the religious hypergamy in relation to men) corresponds completely to tribal endogamy and hypergamy: the tribe does not give its girls in marriage "outside," but encourages the coming of brides "from outside," from another tribe or ethnos, thereby expanding as it were its biological foundation.

In its final development Islam became the religion of the feudal society of many of the countries of Asia and Africa. However, feudalism in these countries had a number of specific characteristics compared to feudalism in Europe. In the East, in particular, early feudal, patriarchal-feudal, and even patriarchal relations coexisted for a very long time. The latter--tribal-kin among nomads and communal among farmers--engendered a tendency toward the preservation of the "democratic" aspects of Islam which were aimed as it were at a "humanization"

of feudalism, and at covering up and even alleviating the cruelest forms of exploitation: the doctrine of the equality of all Moslems before Allah, the call for social justice, the philanthropic tax, mutual assistance, the condemnation of usury, and so forth.

Which society's ideology did the early Shariat reflect? It appears that on the whole this was the ideology of an early class society which had embarked upon feudal development. It is for this reason that many features of patriarchal (tribal-clan) law and pre-class traditions have been preserved in the late Shariat. An entire stratum of purely nomadic customs and legal norms can be excavated in the Shariat. In this respect an analysis of the enactments of the Shariat is greatly benefitted by the hypothesis of G. Ye. Markov who on the basis of a study of a number of nomadic societies came to the conclusion that they were of a mixed structure. Thus, before the beginning of the 20th century he distinguishes the following structures among the Arab livestock breeders: military-democratic patriarchal (the dominant one), tribute taking, feudal, slave holding, and capitalist.<sup>44</sup> In addition, it has to be emphasized that if the feudal structure attained developed forms among the nomads, then, as a rule, this applies not to the intra-tribal milieu, but to the relationships of the nomads with the settled or semi-settled neighbors whom they have subordinated.<sup>45</sup> The tribute taking and slave-holding forms of exploitation are also directed outside of the tribe, to other ethnic groups. Even in the most developed slave-holding nomadic societies, and, apparently, the society of the Tuaregs of the Sahara was such a one, the slavery of fellow tribe members was never in evidence; even captives from ethnically close tribes were sold as far away as possible.<sup>46</sup>

All of these structures were reflected in the ideology of Islam--the result was a kind of "mixed superstructure." It is possible that this is precisely the reason for the flexibility and adaptability of Islam and of the vitality of the Shariat--the "mixed nature" of its juridical and ethical norms.

However, let us return to that with which we began. Do elements of egalitarianism really exist in Islam, and what is their essence? Are they socialist, or are they in actual fact pseudo-socialist?

Let us take land ownership. The Shariat here is contradictory. On the one hand, it is affirmed that "the land and the sky belong to God," and that "pasture lands and water sources . . ." cannot be private property, because "they belong to everybody"; but, on the other hand, the ownership of land by individual people is protected. Thus, it is stated in the Koran: "The land belongs to Allah: He gives it as an inheritance to those of His slaves who wish it" (7:125). This point is nullified by the formal principle of the communal ownership of the land--the land was disposed of at the discretion of rulers and imams.<sup>47</sup> In addition, the Shariat contains special laws against the appropriation of the land of others, and it contains an inheritance law.<sup>48</sup> The communal ownership of the land is contradicted by the regulations on the leasing of land in which the rights of the land owner (sic!) and of the rentor are established. Thus, in reality collective land ownership proves to be a fiction. Incidentally, pasture lands were regarded as the collective possession of tribal-clan subdivisions; however, the right of the leaders to dispose of it at their own

discretion turned the communal laws into a fiction and in essence did not differ from feudal land ownership.<sup>49</sup> And, of course, the greatest advantage from the collective use of pasture lands was obtained by those who had the most livestock. And livestock, in accordance with the Adat and the Shariat, was private property. In other words, the alleged communal ownership of the land (including pasture lands) was only a camouflage from economic inequality.

Such is the social essence of the entire complex of Islamic mutual assistance: it, like tribal-clan mutual assistance, veils the exploitation of the poorest strata of society. The zakyat tax, and alms, exactly like philanthropy in capitalist society, are aimed only toward the alleviation of the class enmity which exists between the haves and the have-nots. And usurers always got around the Islamic prohibition against interest on a loan. That is the reason why in Moslem countries, as numerous facts testify, usury flourished in its cruelest form.

Finally, it is known from the history of the Moslem countries that with the development of feudalism and, then, of capitalism the exploitation of man by man attained extreme limits in them, and the dogmas of Islam were incapable of changing anything. Whereas during the initial period of the spread of Islam the cruelest forms of exploitation-- jihad, slave trade, slave ownership tribute-taking (in the form of increased taxes upon non-believers), and also the feudal exploitation of zimmiy and rayyat--were directed outside of the Moslem community, later the former lost their significance, and feudal exploitation developed in full force within the Moslem community also.

The attempts at a "socialist" interpretation of Islam and the Shariat compel one to recall what is written in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" regarding feudal and petty bourgeois "socialism"; namely, about their "complete inability to understand the course of modern history" and endeavour "to forcibly squeeze the modern means of production and exchange back into the framework of old property relations."<sup>50</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1981, p 18.
2. The first attempts at a socialist interpretation of Islam and the use even in political practice of mixed Moslem and socialist slogans (for example, in the activities of the "Green Army" in Turkey) go back to the 1920s. But at that time they did not become widespread.
3. For details see: V. Ye. Yeremeyev, "Nomadism and the Special Features of the Development of Feudalism in the East," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No 2, 1981, pp 62-63, 71-72.
4. G. N. Kerimov, "The Shariat and Its Social Essence," Moscow, 1978, pp 172, 214.
5. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Vol 28, p 221.

6. G. Ye. Markov, "Problems of the Development of the Social Structure of the Nomads of Asia." Ninth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (henceforth--MKAEN), (Chicago, September 1973). "Reports of the Soviet Delegation," Moscow, 1973, pp 9-10.
7. D. Ye. Yeremeyev, op. cit., pp 72-73.
8. K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., Vol 46, Part I, pp 479-480.
9. T. S. Saidbayev, "Islam and Society. Attempt at Historical and Sociological Study," Moscow, 1978, pp 18-20.
10. Ibid., pp 42, 95-96.
11. L. V. Negrya, "The Social System of North and Central Arabia in the Five-Seven Centuries," Author's Abstract of a Candidate's Dissertation, Moscow, 1978, p 13.
12. I. Gol'dtsiyer, "The Cult of Saints in Islam," Moscow, 1938, p 50.
13. Abu Yusuf, "Kitad Al'-Kharadzh" (Tax Collection Book), Cairo, 1352 (1934), pp 132-133.
14. [Yakhya ibn Adam]. Le livre de l'impot foncier de Yahya ibn Adam, publie par Th. W. Juynboll, Leyde, 1896, p 3. In a broader sense the term fay meant for early Moslem legal scholars the property of the Moslem community, that is, the same as waqf among the later Moslems. However, in the historical sources fay has another meaning, namely: "property confiscated from non-Moslems in conquered countries" (L. N. Nadiradze, "Problems of Feudal Relations in the Caliphate of the VII-IX Centuries." Author's Abstract of a Doctoral Dissertation, Moscow, 1975, pp 18, 23), which is also close to the concept of "tribute." See also: [Am-Tabari]. Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari cum alliis. Editor, M. J. de Geoeje. T. I. Lugduni Batavorum, 1879, p 2372.
15. Many examples of tribute-taking, and also of relationships of domination and subordination among the nomadic and settled tribes of pre-Islamic Arabia are cited in the monograph by L. V. Negrya. See: L. V. Negrya, "The Social System of Northern and Central Arabia in the V-VII Centuries," Moscow, 1981, pp 56-60.
16. [Al-Balazuri]. Liber expugnationis regionum, auctore Imamo Ahmed ibn Jahia ibn Djabir al-beladsori. Edited by M. J. de Goeje. Lugduni batavorum, 1866, p 137.
17. A. I. Pershits. "Tribute Taking." Reports of the Soviet delegation at the 9th MKAEN (Chicago, September 1973), Moscow, 1973, p 5.
18. Ibid., pp 4-6.

19. Here and henceforth the first numbers in parentheses designate the sury, and the second ones--verse from the Koran.
20. A. Masse, "Islam," Moscow, 1963, p 118.
21. See, for example: Khuseyn Tabatabai Burudzhherdi, "Risale tavzikh al'-masail' (Collection of Explanations of Questions)," Teheran, [b. g.]. Question 2281.
22. The exploitation of the slave was concealed behind a patriarchal veil. If a family has slaves the Koran recommends showing kindness to them (4:40), leaving a part of one's alms for the purchase of their freedom (9:60), and so forth.
23. K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., Vol. 25, Part II, p 327.
24. For details on the specific nature of slave possession in nomadic society see: A. M. Khazanov, "The Social History of the Scythians. Basic Problems of the Development of the Ancient Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes," Moscow, 1975, pp 133-143.
25. A. Masse, op. cit., pp 32-34.
26. G. M. Kerimov, op. cit., p 198.
27. K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., Vol. 23, p 99.
28. T. A. Zhdanko, Introductory Remarks at the Symposium "Relationships Between Nomadic and Settled Populations." Works of the VII MKAEN, Vol. 10, Moscow, 1970, p 521; A. M. Khazanov, op. cit., p 255.
29. Not long before his death Chingis Khan sent his forces against the Chinese rulers who were interfering with the Mongols' caravan trade.
30. A. M. Khazanov, op. cit., p 256.
31. T. A. Zhdanko, op. cit., p 521.
32. From the word "saun" which is the name given by the Arabs to a herd which has been given to a shepherd for pasturing, usually on leasing terms.
33. For details see: D. Ye. Yeremeyev, "Yuryuki (Turkish Nomads and Semi-Nomads)," Moscow, 1969, p 74.
34. G. M. Kerimov, op. cit., p 108.
35. Abu Yusuf, op. cit., pp 89-90.
36. Ibid.
37. [Yakhya ibn Adam], op. cit., pp 3, 26-27; Abu Yusuf, op. cit., pp 18-22.



38. Ye. N. Frolova, "Early Islam, Its Social Essence and Historical Role," NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No. 10, 1971, p 59.
39. Makhmud Shakhabi. Advar Fikkh (The Abode of Jurisprudence), Teheran, Vol. 2, 1961, p 241.
40. A. Masse, op. cit., p 31.
41. G. M. Kerimov, op. cit., p 51.
42. In other words, the Shariat did not contain the regulation on majority (as well as seniority) which exists in developed feudal law. This testifies to the lack of development of the juridical norms of the Shariat in relation to late feudal society. At more developed stages of feudalism similar points in the Shariat were bypassed in Moslem countries. Thus, the Mameluks in Egypt guided themselves in matters of inheritance not by the Shariat, or made use of its regulations regarding the competence to create general family property in which the share of each member remained as it were in joint possession--shirk; in Turkey in such cases use was made more frequently of the regulations of civil law as set forth in the Sultans' kanunname.
43. I. P. Petrushevskiy, "Islam in Iran in the VII-XV Centuries," Leningrad, 1966, p 175.
44. G. Ye. Markov, "Problems of the Development of the Social Structure of the Nomads of Asia," p 13; "The Nomads of Asia. Economic Structure and Social Organization," Moscow, 1976, p 276.
45. A. I. Pershits, "Some Peculiarities of Class Formation in Societies of Nomadic Livestock Breeders." The Conference "Origin of Early Class Society." Theses of Reports, Moscow, 1973, p 49.
46. Ibid., p 48.
47. G. M. Kerimov, op. cit., p 169.
48. Ibid., p 214.
49. A. I. Pershits, "Settled and Nomadic Society in Northern Arabia in Modern Times." Author's Abstract of a Doctoral Dissertation, Moscow, 1971, p 28.
50. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Vol. 4, pp 448, 450.

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## ORIENTAL INSTITUTE HOLDS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ASIAN PROBLEMS

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 83 pp 116-125

[Conference Summary by B. M. Svyatskiy: "Important Problems of Present-Day Asia"]

[Text] From 30 June to 2 July 1982 Moscow hosted the International Scientific Political Conference "Important Problems of Present-Day Asia" which was organized by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The conference participants included scholars from the academic institutes of the United States of America and Canada, the World Economy and International Relations, the International Workers' Movement, the Economy of the World Socialist System, and the Institute of State and Law, from Moscow University, from a number of other scientific institutions and higher educational institutions, and also from public organizations. Around 50 scholars and politicians and public figures from more than 20 countries, and the representatives of a number of international organizations came to the conference. The conference participants discussed a wide range of issues in the economic and social development of the Asian countries, the latter's role in international relations, and the state of and prospects for the development of relations between the USSR and the Asian states.

The conference was opened by the Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. A. Kotelnikov.

The director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences Academician Ye. M. Primakov delivered the report "Asia in the Contemporary World" at the plenary session. The collapse of the colonial system after World War II and the transformation of the countries of the East into subjects of international relations, he said, is organically connected with the general process of the transition on a world scale from capitalism to socialism, and with the change in the balance of power between the two world systems. An intensification of its socio-class content has been a distinguishing feature of the revolutionary process in the zone of the national liberation struggle during the post-colonial period. This is being expressed in the development of a number of national liberation revolutions into national democratic ones, in a greater consistency in the realization of socio-economic and political transformations in the states with a socialist orientation, in the increased class demands of the workers in countries following the capitalist path, and in the emergence of a revolutionary situation in a number of countries.

In this connection, the reporter characterized the processes taking place in the countries with a socialist orientation in the economic, social, political, and ideological spheres, and formulated the criteria of a socialist orientation. The most important thing in the field of economics, he said, is a "delay" of capitalist development and the creation of a powerful state sector as the base for the formation and development of a socialist economy. The processes of the concentration and centralization of capital are opposed by effective measures which prevent the development of a capitalist formation. In the social field the dynamics of development at the pre-socialist stage are determined by the character of the forces which are in power, and by their policies; the semi-proletariat and the pre-proletariat acquire an ever greater weight in the social structure. The character of political power in the countries with a socialist orientation may be revolutionary democratic, or popular democratic, or national revolutionary. The "second generation" of socialist orientation countries which embarked upon this path in the 1970s has been achieving its development basically under the conditions of popular democratic power led by vanguard revolutionary parties, while the "first generation" countries (which chose a non-capitalist path in the 1960s) are led basically by national revolutionary elements. In the political sphere the criteria of socialist orientation countries have to take account not only of the domestic but also of the foreign policies of these countries, for without their alliance with the states in which there has been a victorious socialist revolution a non-capitalist transition is impossible, and a departure from the alliance leads to the emergence of restoration processes. In the ideological sphere the criterion of a socialist orientation is the development of the ideology of those in power from a petty bourgeois ideology to scientific socialism.

The reporter noted that the specific nature of the revolution in the East is to a large extent determined by the powerful influence of traditional historical factors. Of course, the revolution develops not from "traditionalness," but from a class struggle; but the "traditionalness" deforms the class struggle and invests it in hitherto unknown forms. Since the collapse of the colonial system the influence of tradition has manifested itself most vividly in the special role of Islam. During the contemporary epoch, with its characteristic complex interweaving of many, frequently contradictory tendencies, it is especially important to have a dialectical approach to the evaluation of the religious factor, and of its ambiguous role in socio-political movements.

A large place was devoted in the report to the change in the position of the countries of the East in the world capitalist economy. The direct imperialist exploitation of the "periphery," which is comprised by the liberated countries, has proven to be impossible under the new conditions with regard not only to the countries which are proclaimed a socialist choice, but also those which have taken the path of capitalist development. As a result of the increased influence of the world socialist system, the power and maneuverability of imperialism has been decreasing. The acquisition by "peripheral" countries of sovereign rights over their own resources has been making it possible for them to influence the structure of foreign capital investments, the scope of the extraction of raw materials, the process of price formation for exported raw materials, and so forth. With the development of structural crises in imperialism

and with the exacerbation of the class struggle in the centers of the world capitalist economy a shift is taking place to the developing countries of energy-intensive materials-intensive, "dirty," and also labor-intensive productions, which is leading to an increased price for labor power; as they industrialize, an expansion of the domestic market is occurring in the developing countries. The report cited data on the increased share of the developing countries in the total GNP of the non-socialist world (from 14.5 to 18.5 percent during the years 1950-1980), and on the tempos of the structural reorganization of the economies of the developing countries (the share of agriculture in their GNP decreased during these same years from 38.2 to 19.6 percent, while in industry it increased from 15.9 to 26 percent). According to forecasts by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by the year 2000 agriculture's share in the GNP of the developing countries of Asia will decrease to 15-18 percent, and industry will increase to 30-33 percent.

The report then examined the unevenness of the development of the countries of the East, their differentiation, and the emergence in the 1970s of such a phenomenon as the exportation of capital from individual (petroleum extracting) developing countries to developed capitalist countries and the contradictory consequences of this phenomenon; an analysis was made of the significance of the struggle for the democratization of international economic relations under the slogan of NMEP [expansion unknown]. The reporter noted the emergence in the developing world in the 1960s and especially in the 1970s of individual local "power centers," a kind of sub-imperialist center. He considered the significance of the exportation of weapons from the United States and the NATO countries for the purpose of drawing these local "power centers" into imperialist policies. The especial emphasis by imperialism on the utilization for its purposes of the "sub-imperialist centers," Ye. M. Primakov stressed, in no way hinders the general neocolonialist strategy of imperialism aimed at a continuation of exploitation by methods which correspond to the changed objective and subjective conditions. Since the end of the 1960s and in the 1970s the multinational corporations have been a special form of neocolonialist exploitation; their activities deepen the abyss in the development level between the "center" and the "periphery" of the world capitalist economy. The strategy of neocolonialism contradicts the needs for the comprehensive development of the liberated countries.

The equal cooperation of the USSR and the other socialist countries with the liberated states is of a fundamentally different character. The development of relations between the USSR and Asian countries received a detailed characterization in the report by the deputy chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the USSR Council of Ministers I. A. Kulev, "USSR Economic and Technical Cooperation With Asian Countries--Results and Prospects."\*

The plenary session also heard the chairman of the Social Sciences Committee

\*See: NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No. 6, 1982, pp 18-28.

of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Nguyen Tkhan' Toan, who analyzed the changes which have occurred in Southeast Asia as a result of the victory of the Vietnamese people, the fundamental problems of the construction of socialism in Vietnam, and international relations in the region. The address by the Vietnamese scholar contained a characterization of the outstanding role of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace and progress in Southeast Asia, and criticized the expansion of American imperialism and its allies in the region.

A wide range of issues was discussed at the meeting of the Section "Asia in Present-Day International Relations." The Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G. F. Kim (USSR) gave the report, "The Soviet Union and Peace and Security in Asia." The ensuring of peace and security in Asia is, he emphasized, an important component part of the Soviet Peace Program for the 1980s which was adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress, and supplemented by a complex of proposals which were formulated, in particular, in the speeches by L. I. Brezhnev at the 17th Congress of Trade Unions, in Tashkent, and others. In protecting peace in Asia, the Soviet Union is defending not only its own interests as an Asian country, but also the interests of other Asian states which are being increasingly active in their opposition to the imperialist policy of undermining detente and intensifying the danger of war. The report examined the significance of the Soviet proposal for a mutual limitation on the operations of naval fleets, the importance of which for Asia springs from the danger of actions by the United States which has concentrated powerful military forces in the Pacific Ocean Zone and in the area of the Indian ocean and Persian Gulf. The reporter gave a large amount of attention to the development of friendly cooperation between the USSR and India and to its importance for strengthening peace on the continent and in the entire world. The state of and prospects for the development of Soviet-Japanese relations was also examined.

The USSR is resolutely opposed to the policies of imperialism which are directed toward inciting inter-state conflicts in Asia, and is a supporter of the settlement of conflicts by peaceful means. In this connection, the reporter illuminated the USSR's attitude toward the Iranian-Iraq war, and toward the Near East conflict. The USSR's policies with regard to the revolutions in Afghanistan and Iran, its role in defending the just cause of the Cambodian people, its support for the peace-loving foreign policy course of the Indo-Chinese states, and its struggle against the arms race on the continent were also analyzed.

At the basis of the USSR's cooperation with the developing countries of Asia, G. F. Kim emphasized, is socialism's fighting alliance with the national liberation movement, and this inspires confidence that cooperation between them will become a decisive factor in the development of international relations and in the strengthening of world peace. The report by A. I. Chekhutov (USSR), "The Basic Preconditions for the Creation of a New International Economic System," dealt with the prospects for the development of economic relations, including on the Asian continent, and the importance of reorganizing them on a just democratic basis. Some of the aspects of the struggle by the developing countries for a new international economic order were also touched upon by V. I. Danilov (USSR).

The problems of the conflict between the forces of peace and war in Asia were considered in a number of reports and addresses. V. P. Lukin (USSR) gave the report, "On United States Policy in Asia in the Early 1980s." V. D. Tikhomirov (USSR) characterized the threat which is contained in the system of support points being created by the United States in Western Asia and Africa, and in the "big" and "small" "triangles"--in Eastern Asia and the Pacific Ocean. The USSR's peace initiatives were given high praise by Sur'ya Lal Amati (Nepal), Fam Dyk Zyong (Socialist Republic of Vietnam), L. Gunevardene (Sri Lanka), and others. Sh. Bira, the director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the MPR Academy of Sciences, devoted his address to the struggle of the MPR for peace and security in Asia. T. L. Shaumyan (USSR) analyzed India's peace-loving foreign policy course as an important factor in the strengthening of peace on the Asian continent. The problems of ensuring peace and stability in Asia were also considered by Tkhai Van Lan (Socialist Republic of Vietnam). Ut' Boryt (Cambodia) spoke about his country's foreign policy. The prospects for the creation in Asia of nuclear-free zones and nuclear weapons non-dissemination zones was the topic of the report by V. F. Davydov (USSR). The problem of the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons was also touched upon by N. A. Gnevushev (USSR).

A number of addresses (the Deputy General Secretary of the Organization for the Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia and Africa Chita Bisvas, the Minister of Propaganda and Culture of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic Sisana Sisan, and others) made a critical analysis of the various aspects of United States anti-peace policy on the continent. The Indian scholars V. P. Datt, K. P. Misra, and others took note of the importance of improving relations between India and the Korean People's Republic.

T. I. Slutskaya (USSR) discussed the situation in Southeast Asia. The problems of strengthening the unity of the countries of Southeast Asia and of ensuring peace in that region were dealt with by G. I. Levinson (USSR). G. F. Kunadze (USSR) analyzed Japan's role in international relations in Asia and in the Pacific.

A large amount of attention was devoted at the section to the role of the non-alignment movement in the solution of the important problems of international relations in Asia. This issue received its fullest treatment in the report by V. V. Benevolenskiy (USSR), "The Nonalignment Movement in the 1980s: Unity Problems." The policy of nonalignment, the reporter emphasized, is an objective necessity for the developing countries which have common socio-economic problems and which occupy similar positions in the system of the world capitalist economy. The growth of the movement, the reporter noted, has led to greater complexity in its structure and to qualitative changes in the character of its work. The existence among its participants of states with different social orientations and different forms of state power has given rise to the formation of stable differences in their attitudes toward the issues of world politics. Pressure from imperialism, and the social heterogeneity of the nonaligned countries engenders such phenomena as an inclination by some of them, proceeding from the notorious opposition between "poor nations" and "rich nations," to place the USSR on the same plane as the imperialist countries and to do the same for the aggressive NATO bloc and the defensive alliance of the Warsaw Pact countries;

and it engenders an endeavour by certain forces in the movement to compromise with imperialism, to proclaim the slogan of "equidistance from blocs," and so forth.

The reporter traced the recent disagreements on the concrete problems of international life (the problems of economic development, relationships in the UN and in the Organization of African Unity, inter-state contradictions and conflicts, and so forth). At the same time, it was emphasized in the report that on the whole the movement's political course retains features which are important for further progressive development in the world: the struggle against colonialism and racism, the endeavour to strengthen peace and international security, the struggle for a reorganization of international economic relations, the struggle for the democratization of international life, and the attempt to settle conflicts between participants in the non-alignment movement. The stages of the development of the non-alignment movement were examined by V. S. Kotlyarov, and the problems of the demarcation of its conservative and progressive directions by A. M. Khazanov (both from the USSR). The address by Sen Gupta Bkhabani (India) reflected the conception of the movement's "equidistance" from "both superpowers." Serious concern was expressed by the participants in the discussion about the American-Israeli aggression in the Near East. An appraisal of the situation was given in the addresses of the associate in the PLO legation in the USSR Shauki Omari, by Professor Fadel' Rauf Ansari of Damascus University, and by I. D. Zvangel'skaya (USSR). A number of addresses were devoted to Indian-Pakistani relations (Sen Gupta Bkhabani, K. P. Misra, Sur'ya Lal Amat'i, and V. N. Moskalenko (USSR)).

In his concluding remarks G. F. Kim took note of the groundlessness of the pessimism which had shown up in some of the addresses regarding the development of the National Liberation Movement after 1975. It was precisely during this period, he said, that there occurred such important events as the victory of the Vietnamese people which achieved the reunification of the country, the people's revolution in Afghanistan, and the overthrow of the Shah's regime in Iran; and a number of progressive states arose in Africa.

The problems of the economic and socio-political development of the continent's countries were discussed at the section "Internal Processes in the Asian Countries." A discussion on economic problems developed around a report by V. A. Yashkin (USSR), "Basic Progressive Changes in the Economic Structure of the Developing Countries of Asia." The reporter cited data showing that as a result of a change in the balance of power in the world economy and the modernization of the domestic structures of the developing countries, the rates of their economic development have been accelerated. However, neither in the liberated countries themselves nor within the entire world economy have the conditions developed yet for a sufficiently extensive and stable process of the equalization of levels of economic development. Important contradictions have manifested themselves in the internal structures of the developing countries: the social and technological heterogeneity of their national economies has become stronger, inter-structural gaps in labor productivity levels have increased, the polarization of income has become aggravated, and unemployment and poverty are increasing. A narrowness of the industrialization base has

been revealed in most of the developing countries. The process of the creation of modern productive forces still has the character of isolated centers. There are substantial discontinuities in the growth rates of industry, its absorption capacities are insufficient, and the domestic market is narrow. Agriculture has hardly been touched by social and technological transformations. After analyzing these processes on the basis of the concrete data of different groups of developing countries, the reporter came to the conclusion that the experience in the development of the liberated countries along the capitalist path testifies to the weakness of the organizing and transforming potentialities of capitalism, and its inability to organize an effective intra-economic and world economic integration of these countries, to give them access to world scientific and technological achievements, and to solve their most acute social and economic problems.

Most of the speakers agreed in principle with the evaluation given in the report of the basic directions of the economic development of the liberated countries, and of its problems, difficulties, and limitations. Various aspects of the situation which has developed in individual countries were examined. Having noted that the lagging of agriculture is having a negative effect upon the integration processes in India's economic structure, G. G. Kotovskiy (USSR) characterized the significance of such tendencies and phenomena as economic development on a narrowing base, the proletarianization of the rural population, and agrarian over-population, analyzed the social consequences of the "green revolution" being carried out in a number of areas, and called attention to the importance of planned demographic policy. The address by O. V. Malyarov (USSR) contained a discussion of the attempts which have been made in India to overcome the narrowness of the domestic market by means of drawing small capitalist enterprises, including support for rich farms in the village, into the development process. Certain aspects of the deepening crisis of the capitalist transformation of the socio-economic structure of India and the countries of Southeast Asia were touched upon by V. G. Rastyannikov (USSR) who characterized the serious disproportions and contradictions in these countries which are connected with a growing concentration of wealth, mass pauperization, an expansion of the "sphere of poverty," an exacerbation of the food problem, the inability of agriculture to serve as a source for the development of the national economy, and so forth. The problems of the relationship between domestic and foreign sources of economic development in the Asian countries was the subject of A. Ye. Granovskiy (USSR).

The theoretical and practical problems of capitalist development in India were examined by scholars from that country who dealt with the structural changes in its economy, the problems of the development of a market, the resources for economic growth, and so forth. Bashiruddin Akhmed, in particular, believes that the difficulties of the capitalist sector in the relatively developed countries of Asia are of a transitional character and testify to a structural reorganization of the economy. Rashiduddin Mokhit Sen pointed out that during the time of India's political independence it could have successfully made progress along the path of democratic capitalist development. The situation in the economy of Bangladesh was treated by Akklakur Rakhman who spoke about the seriousness of the problems of poverty and employment in the country which



cannot be solved by capitalist development, and about the necessity for foreign aid. R. Konstantino (Philippines) dealt with the problems of the social and economic life of the Philippines, with the methods of solving them on the basis of a combination of the principle of "basing oneself on one's own strength" and an attraction of foreign capital, and the role of the multinational corporations in the exploitation of that country. The difficulties which are being encountered by the small countries of Asia as a result of their limited capital and small domestic markets, and the impossibility of turning imports into a source of growth were characterized by I. B. Red'ko (USSR).

A number of addresses touched upon the question of a typology for Asian countries, including the legitimacy of the term "developing countries" and the necessity for refining it in connection with their deepening differentiation. This, in particular, was the subject of Berraga Abdel'kader (Morocco) who also dealt with certain crises tendencies in the countries of Asia and North Africa. Most of the speakers supported a conclusion regarding the applicability of the term "developing countries" which was formulated in the concluding remarks of V. A. Yashkin: "Despite the enormous differences between the developing countries, their common nature is determined by their mixed economic structure, their peripheral position in the world capitalist economy, and the transitional character of their social development."

The section devoted important attention to socio-political and ideological development. The participants in the discussion noted the organic connection between domestic problems and the fundamental problems of international life, and also the substantial unevenness of development and diversity of political and ideological forms and structures which are characteristic for our time. Interest was attracted by the processes of the establishment in the socialist orientation states of new political structures and of a modern political culture. In the report by V. F. Li (USSR), "Political Power and Progressive Social Changes (On the Basis of the Experience of Socialist Orientation Countries)," it was noted that by the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s at least two basic ways of political institutionalization had become defined in the socialist orientation states. The first reflects the process of the formation of vanguard workers' parties which have armed themselves ideologically and politically with scientific socialism; the second is connected with national democratic development which is driven by an anti-imperialist and petty bourgeois democracy. The formation in a group of countries (Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and others) of a political superstructure of a new type is an indicator of the onset of a new stage in the national democratic struggle of the peoples.

It is essential, the reporter emphasized, to take account of the profound processes of social demarcation in the countries which have come out on the front line of the liberation struggle. In one group of countries the new political system actively fosters the formation of transifional (non-capitalist) production relations, the renewal of society's social structure, and the consolidation of vanguard parties. Other countries in which regimes of the middle social strata have been established are experiencing serious crisis and blind-alley

tendencies. Profound anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, and, partially, non-capitalist transformations in these countries are frequently combined with negative tendencies which carry the threat of a deformation of the socialist orientation process itself. The characterization of the interaction between the national democratic revolution and world socialism and the world revolutionary process occupied an important place in the report.

The address by V. Ye. Chirkin (USSR) was also devoted to the character of state power in the socialist orientation countries. The specific nature of these countries, he believes, consists in the fact that the structure of power is fundamentally heterogeneous: two blocks coexist in it--the block of workers with that section of non-workers with which it is possible to cooperate in the accomplishment of general democratic tasks, and an alliance of workers and peasants. This combination gives rise to contradictions and influences the character of the authorities' social measures.

The problems of political ideology and practice were the subject of the reports by A. Khanna (Syria) who examined Islamic ideological currents in the countries of the Arab East, and Myumtas Soysal (Turkey) who analyzed the problems of the constitutional development of Turkey, and also the statements in the discussions of these reports by Berraga Abdel'kader and G. G. Kotovskiy.

A lively discussion was called for by the address by E. Khamayun (Iran) on the experience of the Iranian Revolution\*\* which he interpreted as a purely religious revolution without any class content. E. Khamayun also gave an explanation of the foreign policy of the Iranian Islamic Republic which is being carried out under the motto of "Neither the East nor the West." In the addresses by O. V. Martyshin and A. Z. Arabadzhyan (both from the USSR), and also of certain foreign participants in the conference (Bashiruddin Akhmed, Akkhakur Rakhman, and others) it was noted that like other movements which have taken place in history and which have occurred under religious slogans, the Iranian Revolution arose as an expression of the social protests of the popular masses; it was a consequence of the exacerbation of class contradictions caused by accelerated capitalist development; the revolution which took on a religious form was directed against the tyrannical pro-imperialist shah's regime, and against an exploitative "modernized" elite. Note was taken in the addresses of the complete groundlessness of E. Khamayun's interpretation of cooperation between the USSR and Iran as allegedly support for the shah's regime, and also the assertions to the effect that the left parties in Iran allegedly pursued a line aimed at holding back the Islamic revolution. A. Z. Arabadzhyan emphasized that it was the left forces in Iran which were the most active participants in the revolution, and that the strikes by Iranian workers were an effective means of the anti-shah struggle. Note was taken by the discussion participants of the fact that the slogan "Neither the East nor the West" objectively prevents the unity of the developing countries in the face of imperialism's aggressiveness.

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\*\*E. Khamayun gave a brief report on this topic also at the meeting of the first section.

The section devoted a large amount of attention to the place of religion in the struggle between progressive and reactionary forces in the East. This topic which was reflected in reports and addresses which have already been mentioned received a detailed treatment in the report by L. R. Polonskaya (USSR), "Religion in the Political Life of the Countries of Asia and Africa." The turn to religion by progressive figures, it was noted in the report, springs from an endeavour to find additional ways to unite the masses under anti-imperialist and even revolutionary democratic slogans; but the conservative forces see in religion above all a means of counteracting the influence of communism, and they use it as a brake on social progress. The general causes and the character of the politicalization of religion which is occurring in our day are connected with a structural crisis; they have to be sought in the field of economics (Western style modernization implanted from above), in the field of politics (the growth of the political instability and political activeness of increasingly broad strata of the population), and in ideology (the search for an alternative strategy of development and the working out of new conceptions of state nationalism).

The report characterized the specific nature of the influence on politics of such systems as Buddhism and Islam. Islam, L. R. Polonskaya established, increasingly acts today not only as a religion, but as a definite socio-economic system, a state model, a special system of moral and ethical values, and a specific way of life. The conception of a "Islamic" economy (the Islamic variant of a "balanced economy") presupposes the simultaneous sanctification of private property and the right to nationalize it, and the priority of collective interests over individual interests.

The contemporary situation in the Asian and African countries is characterized by a simultaneous development of secularization and politicalization processes of religion. The tendency toward the secularization of society places its imprint upon the character and forms of the politicalization of religion, determining the future limited nature of its historical functions.

The Jordanian Minister of Information Adnan Abu Odeh placed the emphasis in his address on the role of Islam in the liberation movement. The religious aspect of the political struggle in India was touched upon in the addresses by Bashiruddin Akhmed and Rashiduddin Mokhit Sen. The problems of studying religion and of its importance in political life were touched upon also by K. Z. Ashrafyan (USSR). E. N. Komarov (USSR) examined the characteristics of the political development of bourgeois democracy in India in connection with the role of the religious factor.

A number of reports were devoted to socio-demographic problems. "The Demographic Aspect of Economic Growth in the Developing Countries" was the topic of the report by Ya. N. Guzevatyy (USSR). The complexity of the demographic situation which is unprecedented in its character is a result of an increase in the average annual population growth rates (approximately from 1 percent in the 1950s to 24 percent in 1965-1970), its absolute growth (during 1950-1980 an additional 1.6 billion people appeared in these countries, which comprised four-fifths of the world growth), and an acceleration of the process

of industrial type urbanization which is taking place under the conditions of economic backwardness. The lack of coordination between the processes of demographic and economic growth is leading to an exacerbation of food, raw materials, energy, and ecological problems, and is increasing a dangerous instability in the world economy and world politics. The dimensions and rates of the migration by the rural population to cities greatly exceeds the dimensions and rates of industrial construction. The small artisan and service spheres are swelling in a monstrous way, giving shape to a form of stagnant overpopulation; in the sphere of family and kin relations both in the city and in the village the traditional orientation toward a large number of children continues to dominate; despite the intensive migration of the rural population to cities, the absolute size of the rural population has been steadily increasing, and the process of pauperization is taking on enormous dimensions; unemployment is growing, with not full, but partial and concealed unemployment being typical. Noting that all of these troubles have been engendered by the imperialist exploitation of the developing countries and aggravated by it, the reporter emphasized that the solution of the difficult demographic and socio-economic problems necessitates fundamental transformations of the backward social structure of these countries in the interests of the broad popular masses. A report entitled, "Present-Day Yemen--Migrations: Ideas and Prospects," was given by Abdu Ali Usman (Yemeni Arab Republic). Yu. G. Aleksandrov (USSR) considered the problems of agrarian overpopulation, and the specifics of including labor power in labor activities in the developing countries.

Ethnic problems are an important aspect of the socio-demographic situation in the developing countries, and, as the discussion participants observed, without a solution of these problems it will be impossible or extremely difficult to solve urgent socio-economic problems. Ethnic problems were the subject of the report presented to the section by A. B. Davidson (USSR), "The Ethno-National Factor in the Life of the Developing Asian and African Countries," and the address by M. S. Lazarev (USSR) who examined the character and distinctive characteristics of national problems in the various regions of the continent and emphasized the great importance of the USSR's experience in solving the nationalities question for the Asian countries.

The problems of socialist construction in the Asian countries were analyzed in the reports of N. Ishzhamets (PRM) and Le Tkhan' Kkh'yet (Socialist Republic of Vietnam). In the reports and addresses by I. A. Yegorov (USSR), I. B. Red'ko, Akkhylakur Rakhman, A. Khanna, and G. K. Shirokov (USSR) a substantial amount of attention was devoted to a scientific periodization of the stages of socialist construction, to the involvement of the broad masses in revolutionary creative work, and to the problem of the utilization of the advantages of socialism in combination with the achievements of the modern scientific and technological revolution in the specific conditions of the above countries.

The problems of the development of culture in the developing Asian countries was the subject of the reports by A. Khabibi (Afghanistan) and Akhmad Dargam (Syria). The following participated in the discussions: K. Z. Ashrafyan, A. I. Ionova, A. S. Gerasimova, L. B. Nikol'skiy (all from the USSR), Myumtaz Soysal, and A. Khanna. The center of consideration were the problems of cultural

synthesis and of the interaction of cultures on a democratic and humanist basis.

Various aspects of economic, political, cultural, and other cooperation were treated at meetings of the section "USSR Relations With the Asian Countries." It was emphasized in the reports and addresses that these relations are being organized on a just and mutually advantageous basis, that they exclude any manifestations of neocolonialism, and that they are of enormous importance for strengthening the political independence of the developing countries and for the achievement by them of economic independence.

A large amount of attention was devoted to the problems of a new international economic order. The report by I. A. Yegorov (USSR), "The Socialist Countries and the Reorganization of International Economic Relations," contained a theoretical analysis and concrete facts characterizing the experience of the relationships between the CEMA countries and a model of genuinely equal cooperation and division of labor among states. The international economic practice of the USSR and the other socialist countries, the reporter emphasized, has influenced and continues to influence the entire system of international economic relations, and it is being used by many liberated countries. The process of the reorganization of international economic relations is a result of the well-directed actions of world socialism, and of its joint struggle with the national liberation movement for economic decolonization. The history of this joint struggle, the position which was defended by the Soviet Union at sessions of the UN General Assembly, of UNCTAD, and at other conferences on this issue, and the constructive Soviet proposals made in this connection was the subject of the report by L. I. Chernorutskaya (USSR), "The USSR and the 'North-South' Dialogue." V. P. Pavlov (USSR) cited facts refuting the myth that Soviet foreign trade organizations allegedly conduct business only with large partners, and that the USSR is constructing only gigantic heavy industry enterprises abroad. With Soviet help, he said, many objects in light industry and agriculture both in relatively large and small developing countries have been built.

L. A. Chistyakov (USSR) described the USSR's relations with the least developed countries of Asia. Trade and economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and Afghanistan, Bangladesh, the Yemeni Arab Republic, Laos, and Nepal, she emphasized, is of a privileged character and does its utmost to help the development of the above countries. Soviet-Nepalese relations were characterized by a member of Nepal's Parliament Khari Bakhadur Basnet.

The report, "Relations Between the Mongolian People's Republic and the USSR as a Model of Inter-State Relations of the New Type," was given by the vice president of the MPR Academy of Sciences Academician Sh. Natsagdorzh. High praise was given to Soviet-Yemeni relations by the scholars from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen Sakhan Az-Zazi and Sāyf Ali-Mukbil'. M. Aydogdyev (USSR) gave a communication on the influence of USSR trade relations on the economic life of Iran. The addresses by R. N. Andreasyan and S. A. Bylinyak (both from the USSR) examined the special features of the scientific and technical and trade cooperation of the USSR with the developing countries, its problems, forms, and methods with the existing differences in the socio-economic and

political systems there, and the entrance of the developing countries into the world capitalist market which functions with unplanned economies. Ek Sam Ol (Cambodia) spoke about the USSR's help in restoring and developing his country's economy which had been destroyed by the Pol Pot Forces. Soviet-Indian economic and scientific and technical relations were characterized by K. P. Misra. If today, he said, India is a large industrial power with a large number of specialists, and with a developed science and technology, if our country bases itself 90 percent on its own internal resources, and if our security has been judiciously protected, the Soviet Union has made a large contribution to all of this. The state, successes, difficulties, and possible developmental prospects for relations between the Soviet Union and the member states of the association of Southeast Asian nations was treated by V. A. Teperman (USSR).

The problems of the development of trade and economic relations between the USSR's Far Eastern areas and neighboring Asiatic countries were dealt with in the reports by scholars from the Far East Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences: corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. P. Chichkanov--"The Role of the Transportation Factor in the Economic Relations of the Soviet Far East and the Countries of Asia,"--and N. L. Shlyk--"Foreign Economic Relations of the Soviet Far East and Asian Countries."

The Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ye. P. Chelyshev spoke about the traditions and development of USSR cultural cooperation with the Asian countries. He took note of the profound interest shown in the USSR in a study of the cultures of the developing countries and in the assimilation of their experience and contribution to world culture, and spoke of the importance of strengthening cultural relations for the development of mutual understanding among peoples.

S. L. Stoklutskiy (USSR) analyzed the economic and social consequences of restraining the arms race on the continent and the role of the USSR in the solution of this problem. A. V. Kiva (USSR) delivered a theoretical communication on the problems of the transition to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development. The meeting's participants were informed by A. N. Kheyfets of the serial publication USSR I STRANY VOSTOKA which is published by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The section was presented a report by V. F. Stanis, the rector of the University of Friendship of Peoples imeni P. Lumumba, "USSR Aid to the Liberated Countries in the Training of National Cadres."

The conference adopted an appeal to the scientific leaders of the world and to all people of good will to raise a voice of protest against the criminal actions of Israel in Lebanon and to demand that the legitimate national rights of the Arab Palestinian people be ensured. The conference participants brought attention to the dangerous situation for peace which had been created by American imperialism in Southeast Asia, and in the areas of the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. It called for support for the initiatives of the countries of Asia to preserve peace and security on the continent, to create nuclear-free zones, and to carry out measures of trust among the Asian states. The appeal welcomes the commitment by the Soviet Government not to be the first to use nuclear

weapons, and contains a call to all nuclear powers to follow the example of the Soviet Union.

The conference demonstrated that despite certain differences in points of view, its participants were united in their evaluation of the important problems which are now troubling the peoples of Asia and all of mankind. The exchange of opinions which took place will undoubtedly promote a deep scientific solution of these problems.

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2959

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ACADEMY OF SCIENCES HOLDS CONFERENCE ON AFRO-ASIAN REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 83 pp 125-132

[Conference Summary by Yu. M. Vinokurov and Yu. M. Il'in: "The All-Union Scientific Conference 'The Laws and Specific Nature of the Development of the Revolutionary Process in the Liberated Countries of Africa and Asia'"]

[Text] A conference devoted to the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR took place on 25-28 May 1982 in Tbilisi. It was organized by the Scientific Council on the Problems of Africa and the Scientific Council on the Present-Day Problems of the Developing Countries of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institutes of Eastern Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences and of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, and by the Sector on Information on the Social Sciences of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences. The conference had as its participants 150 Africanists and Orientalists representing scientific and educational centers in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tbilisi, Yerevan, Baku, Tashkent, Ashkhabad, Kishinev, Minsk, Kazan', Rostov-na-Donu, Simferopol', and Arkhangel'sk.

In opening the conference, the Chairman of its Organizational Committee, the Chairman of the Scientific Council on the Problems of Africa, Director of the Institute of Africa, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Anatoliy A. Gromyko noted that it was taking place during the year of the 60th anniversary of the USSR in Georgia, a former backward outlying district of Tsarist Russia and now one of the equal republics of the Soviet multinational state.

The world historical process of the establishment of a new society which was begun by Great October has now gone beyond the borders of Europe and taken hold in enormous areas of imperialism's former colonial periphery. This is witnessed by the emergence here of socialist states, and by the choice by an entire group of liberated countries of a socialist orientation. The specific nature of local conditions engenders a diversity of forms in the construction of the new society. But the progress by the liberated states toward socialism is characterized by general laws which were formulated in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress. An expansion of its social base, the involvement in it of city and village workers, and the growing role of the working class are important features of the revolutionary process in these countries. This process is now being increasingly directed



toward the attainment of a level of the productive forces which is necessary for the construction of socialism, the creation of qualitatively new production relations, the reorganization of the psychology of people, and the formation of an administrative apparatus which is popular in its character. As the socio-economic transformations being carried out in these countries become increasingly radicalized, the class and ideological-political struggle intensifies. In the countries with a capitalist orientation the conditions are gradually ripening for the development of the national liberation revolution into a national democratic revolution. The progressive forces are being opposed by imperialism and domestic reaction which is attempting to prevent the genuine liberation of the peoples of the developing countries and to intimidate them with inventions about a "Soviet threat." It is generally known, however, that the USSR and the other socialist countries show a deep sympathy for the progressive changes which are occurring in the liberated countries, and are providing their peoples with comprehensive and disinterested aid.

The analysis of the character, laws, and specific nature of the revolutionary process in the Afro-Asian countries which the conference had the task of giving will be, Anatoliy A. Gromyko said, a contribution by the Soviet Union's multinational detachment of Orientalists and Africanists to the further scientific elaboration of the problems of the contemporary world revolutionary process.

The Deputy Chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers O. Ye. Cherkeziya welcomed the conference on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and the republic's Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, and the Vice President of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Academician A. S. Prangishvili welcomed the conference on behalf of the republic's Academy of Sciences.

The Deputy Director of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences G. B. Starushenko delivered a report entitled "The 26th CPSU Congress and the Development of the Revolutionary Process in Africa." He noted that the revolutionary process in Africa is acquiring a social character and, domestically, is aimed at the elimination of reactionary regimes and the creation of conditions for the accelerated overcoming of underdevelopment, while in foreign relations it is aimed at a fundamental reorganization of the entire system of international relations. It should be kept in mind that the lack in the African states of a solid economic base in the form of a developed system of production relations--capitalist or socialist--makes it relatively easy to change not only political regimes, but also the direction of social development. A large part of the world's socialist orientation countries are in Africa, and, on the whole, more than one-half of the states of that continent have already had a positive or negative (interrupted) experience in development along a non-capitalist path. In view of the lack of development of the social structure of African society and the low level of the development of the productive forces, Marxist-Leninists look upon the transitional stage--a socialist orientation--as relatively prolonged in time and aimed at the creation of the preconditions for the construction of socialism in the future. It is this way that the issue was posed in the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress.

In the African countries with a capitalist orientation the progressive forces, while struggling to change the path of development, at the same time support individual anti-feudal and anti-imperialist measures which are carried out by their governments, particularly the creation of a state sector in the economy. An analysis of the disposition of social and class forces in Africa provide grounds for the conclusion that it is possible to form a coalition of the working class, the laboring peasantry, and intermediate strata in the struggle for progressive transformations. Along with the social and class contradictions, the revolutionary process in Africa is also being influenced by other factors, primarily ethnic contradictions whose main source is the unresolved nature of social and economic problems.

Striving to undermine the unity of the revolutionary liberation movements, imperialism in alliance with local reaction is attempting to develop an ideological counter-offensive on the continent, and supports the penetration there of a social reformist ideology. Under these conditions the dissemination in Africa of the idea of scientific socialism is of paramount importance, and the ideological education of the workers becomes a most important task of the progressive forces.

N. A. Simoniya (Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences) gave the report, "The 26th CPSU Congress and the Development of the Revolutionary Process in the Countries of the East." The congress emphasized that the processes of domestic and foreign political differentiation had become the notable feature of the contemporary stage of the development of the liberated states. The dialectical contradictoriness of these processes consists in the fact that, on the one hand, all of the developing countries are in the first phase of their independent formational development, and, on the other, their development is taking place in a complex way and is characterized by an ever increasing differentiation. These processes are the background against which the revolutionary movements are developing; for this reason, without a consideration of them, just as without a clear idea of the structure of the societies of the East, a scientific elaboration of the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle is impossible.

The contradictory and crisis character of the establishment of "tertiary" capitalism in the present-day East is being intensified under the influence of external factors and of the struggle of the two world systems--capitalist and socialist. As a result of the influence of domestic and foreign factors, a revolutionary emergence from the crisis situation does not necessarily presuppose a further progressive development of capitalism; in a number of liberated states the crises of social structures were completed by revolutionary changes in the political superstructure which shifted the process of social development onto the path of a socialist orientation. It is this which is the essence of the formational differentiation of the developing countries of the 1960s and first half of the 1970s, supplemented since the second half of the 1970s by an intra-formational differentiation.

A clear division was made of the socialist orientation countries into two groups: in one group "national" variants of socialism which were opposed to scientific

socialism muffled as it were the social aspects of the transformations in them and frequently were concluded by a departure from the socialist orientation; in the other group almost from the very beginning Marxism-Leninism became the ideological basis of political activity, which in the final analysis projects or already determines the development of revolutionary democratic transformations into popular democratic ones. In the group of capitalist orientation countries the differentiation is determined by differences in the relationships between the basic components of a combined society and their dissimilar character. As a result of these differences, the level of the maturity of the domestic preconditions for national liberation is dissimilar, very important differences in the character of the domestic and foreign political activities of the governments appear, and so forth.

The question of the form of statehood is a tactically important one for the revolutionary forces. In most of the socialist orientation countries wide opportunities for workers' participation in the revolutionary process have been created or are being created. The capitalist orientation countries can be subdivided with a certain amount of conventionality into three types: parliamentary republics, authoritarian republics (of a military or civilian character), and absolutist monarchic regimes. In each of them the conditions for revolutionary activity are fundamentally diverse. Contradictions and conflict situations both between the developed and developing countries and within each of these groups are creating a situation in which there is a real possibility for new breaks in the peripheral links of the capitalist system.

In his report, "The 26th CPSU Congress and the Development of the Revolutionary Process in the Countries of the Near East," Sh. N. Kurdgelashvili (Institute of Oriental Studies of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences) emphasized that the revolutionary process in the region is taking place under difficult and diverse conditions, since the countries of the Near East differ with regard to the levels of their socio-economic development, the degree of their participation in the world economic process, the forms and character of their state and political organization, and in their ethno-demographic and religious forms.

The diversity of conditions, the variety of social competition, and the widely different political forces have given rise to the appearance of a large number of the most diverse ideological currents. The anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist thrust of the non-Marxist theories of a "third way of development," in particular of "national socialisms," which are widespread here is very obvious. Islamic slogans have received wide currency; in analyzing this phenomenon it is very important to consider the thesis of the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress to the effect that the slogans of Islam may serve both the goals of the liberation struggle and the goals of reaction and counter-revolution.

A further development of the revolutionary process depends to a large extent upon the unity and solidarity of the democratic, progressive forces of the Near Eastern countries.

O. Sh. Kadzhaya, a member of the Presidium of the Georgian Committee for the Solidarity of the Countries of Asia and Africa, gave the report, "The 26th CPSU Congress on Certain Ideological Problems of the National Liberation Movement in the Countries of Asia and Africa." The contemporary stage of the development of the liberated states is characterized by their being more subject than in the past to changes in all spheres of life, including the ideological sphere where a struggle is unfolding on the basis of the national struggle for economic independence. The increased popularity of socialist ideas has been, as is noted in the CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR," a result of the successes of real socialism. The reporter disclosed three approaches to the use of socialist ideas which exist in the Afro-Asian world--for the purpose of a profound reorganization of society with the prospect of the construction of socialism; for declarative propagandist purposes in order to ensure support by the masses for moderate capitalist orientation regimes; and, finally, the use of pseudo-socialist ideas for demagoguery and to cover up a reactionary policy.

Nationalism plays a considerable role in the ideological life of the developing states. In its general democratic form it was the ideology of the liberation movements; today, evolving, it is being filled with a diverse class content. The progressive and the reactionary interpretations of nationalistic slogans show very clearly. Revolutionary democrats, having chosen the path of "national socialism," are creating the preconditions for the subsequent acceptance by both the leaders and the masses of the ideas of scientific socialism, although leaders can be encountered in their sphere who are more concerned with seeking to distinguish their own ideology from the theory of scientific socialism. The representatives of reaction who try to make use of the general democratic character of nationalism in the interests of classes and political forces which are opposed to revolutionary transformations incite inter-national enmity, and propound the ideas of national exclusiveness and isolationism, trying at the same time to distract the masses from domestic problems. Imperialist propaganda attempts to utilize nationalism in order to oppose the liberation movement to the other component parts of the world revolutionary process.

The problem of religion in the developing countries is many-faceted and complex. During the course of the national liberation struggle individual religious leaders came out on the side of the progressive forces. The leaders of many liberated countries regard religion, particularly Islam, as a component part and a lever for the realization of their political and economic programs. Islam is being "politicized," and the more easily since the masses see in its dogmas a rejection of the inequality and the injustices which accompany the development of their countries along the capitalist path. In evaluating the role of Islam in the ideology of revolutionary democracy it is important to reveal the errors of the right wing ("a coincidence of the principles of Islam and socialism") and the left wing ("the total incompatibility of these principles").

During the discussions which developed around the reports the conference participants considered some overall problems.

With regard to the problem "Imperialism's Counter-Offensive and the Exacerbation of the Liberation Struggle" the conference participants came to the conclusion that during the last two decades imperialism had suffered a defeat of historic proportions in Asia and Africa. The West has not been able to direct the development of all of the liberated countries along a capitalist path, and a substantial number of them have made a choice in favor of socialism. Basically, the liberated countries have achieved control over their own raw materials, and although the exploitation of these resources by international capitalism continues, it is no longer under such plundering and unjust conditions as in the past. Today one may speak not only of the collapse of colonialism, but also of the crisis of neocolonialism. A doubt has been raised about the entire neocolonialist strategy which is designed to consolidate the dependence of the Asian and African states in new forms, and to create a "peripheral" capitalism which will serve the monopolistic "center" as a modified but, as in the past, unequal mechanism of the international division of labor. From time to time imperialism attempts to go on the counter-offensive, trying to strike a blow above all against the forces which threaten its dominion. Among these forces which are in power in Africa and Asia there is above all the revolutionary democracy. It is precisely for this reason that Africa and the Near East have now become the chief arena of this counter-offensive during which the United States and its henchmen make use of a wide arsenal of means, including the concentration of military forces and armed intervention. Subversive activities are conducted in diverse forms and variants for the purpose of destabilizing progressive regimes and breaking the unity of the African peoples, with an ever greater role being assigned to the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa as a gendarme in the south of Africa.

In discussing the problem, "The Struggle of the Liberated States to Overcome Underdevelopment," the conference participants noted that the development of the struggle for national liberation into a struggle to overcome economic backwardness and dependence and against all types of exploitation has become a characteristic feature of the contemporary revolutionary process. The struggle for economic independence, and the disillusionment with neocolonial conceptions of development have given rise to an endeavour by the developing countries to make new approaches to defining the goals and methods of economic progress. This presupposes the necessity for increasing the role of the state in socio-economic processes and, above all, in developing and realizing a long-term development strategy. Scientific and technical policy as an independent aspect of the state's economic function is becoming more important.

The struggle of the developing countries for economic liberation possesses an enormous anti-imperialist potential. This is why it is coming up against the fierce resistance of the Western powers. The policies of international imperialism cause tremendous damage to the economies of the developing countries. At the same time, it places them before the conclusion that unity, an expansion of mutual economic cooperation, support from one's own collective strength and resources, and the realization of profound socio-economic and structural transformations are necessary conditions for overcoming economic backwardness and dependence. The actions of the imperialist powers are increasingly convincing the liberated states that their only reliable ally in the anti-imperialist is represented by the countries of the socialist commonwealth.

In the discussion of the problem, "The Struggle for Social Progress. The Socialist Orientation Countries," an important place was occupied by an examination of the motive forces of the revolutionary process, its specific nature which is determined by the action of a number of factors (ethnic, religious, and others), and the basic stages of this process, particularly the character of the national democratic revolution and its development into popular democratic and socialist revolutions. An analysis was made of the problems of the political and socio-economic transformations in the socialist orientation countries, particularly the problem of the classification of these states. It was noted that at the present time two varieties can be distinguished: national democratic and popular democratic states--and that such criteria as the character of state power and of the political leadership of society can be put at the basis of this classification. There was a discussion of the complex of problems connected with the revolutionary democratic parties and a special variety among them--vanguard workers' parties. Despite their difficulty, the problems facing the peoples of these countries are not insurmountable. An important condition for their solution is the movement by power in the socialist orientation countries toward a vanguard party which takes the position of scientific socialism and carries out a principled and at the same time flexible socio-economic policy, and a policy of comprehensive cooperation with the socialist commonwealth.

It was emphasized that the realization of fundamental transformations helps to deepen the revolution, and creates a solid social basis for it in the form of a growing working class and an economic basis in the form of a potentially socialist system.

A lively controversy was evoked by the discussion of the problem, "National Movements and the Prospects for a Solution of the Nationalities Question," during which it was noted that the national movements in the liberated countries have to be regarded as a component part of the working class' struggle for socialism, and as a part of the world anti-imperialist and anti-colonial movement.

All of the known types of ethnic communities can be met in the countries of Asia and Africa--from numerous nations and large peoples to small tribes of wandering gatherers and hunters which have preserved archaic forms of social relations. Many peoples have not yet formed into nations. The economic, cultural, and migration processes occurring in each country are promoting the coming together of diverse ethnoses. But common state features are a very important element in the formation of modern national political communities. The solution of the nationalities question in countries with bourgeois reactionary regimes differs sharply from the solution of these problems in countries which have chosen a democratic path of development. In many capitalist orientation countries inter-ethnic relationships have been greatly exacerbated. The national movements are closely connected with many aspects of the social existence of the developing countries. They influence the course of national unification processes and promote fundamental changes in the culture and life of peoples.

A solution of the nationalities question is connected in the closest way with key revolutionary transformations in other spheres of the life of society. This is vividly witnessed by the 60-year experience of the multinational Soviet Union.

The conference participants who examined the problem, "The Near East Crisis and the Countries of the East," noted that this crisis which had been created by imperialist and Zionist circles has become the most serious regional problem and is having a direct influence on the revolutionary process in Asia and Africa. The key to its solution is the Palestine problem which is of great importance for the Arab imperialist movement as a whole, for the situation in all of the Arab countries, and for the conditions under which progressive, patriotic forces are struggling.

The Near East region has become a zone of active intervention by imperialism in the internal affairs of peoples. Supporting conservative regimes, it has selected as the object of its pressure primarily the Arab countries which have chosen a non-capitalist path of development. In this connection, the problem of the defense of revolutionary gains and of moving them to a higher level of development has become especially important.

During the discussion of the problem, "An Exacerbation of the Ideological Struggle in the Liberated Countries," it was noted that the ideological and political struggle is unfolding here around issues which are being brought up by the socio-economic needs of development. A gravitation toward socialism is increasing in the liberated countries. The experience of the world's first socialist state is a source of enormous attractive power for scientific socialism and for the great prestige of the Soviet Union in the countries of the East. The ideologists of neocolonialism are striving to impose upon the developing countries their own conceptions and strategies of development with the result that especial importance is being acquired not only by a Marxist-Leninist critique of such conceptions, but also by the advancement of positive development programs for the liberated countries. The European social democracy, by imposing models of "democratic socialism" upon the Africans, would like to keep Africa in the system of world capitalism, and reorient through bringing them to reformism those African countries which have chosen the path of a socialist orientation.

A component part of the revolutionary process is the formation of a revolutionary consciousness in the masses. The difficulties which the vanguard forces encounter are a result, as V. I. Lenin observed, of the necessity for translating "true communist teachings which are meant for communists in the more advanced countries into the language of every people" under conditions in which "the peasantry is the chief mass."\* Nationalist slogans are capable of changing their socio-political thrust and of changing from an implement of struggle for national and economic liberation into a means of counter-acting the solidarity of the

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\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol. 39, pp 329-330.

anti-imperialist forces. Coming up against traditional ideas and value systems, advanced revolutionary ideas sometimes acquire a unique form, and sometimes even change their essence. In this connection, the question of the influence of religious consciousness on revolutionary ideology in Africa has taken on great theoretical and practical importance.

During the period of acute skirmishes with neocolonialism the democratic content of nationalism in the liberated countries is manifesting itself with new force. This represents a basis for unified actions among the supporters of Marxism-Leninism and the ideologists of nationalism who take anti-imperialist positions.

A large amount of attention was devoted at the conference to the problem, "The Socialist Countries and the Revolutionary Process in the Liberated States." The changes which are occurring in Asia and Africa convincingly demonstrate that the historic example of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has become a source from which the fighters for national and social liberation are drawing their strength. Soviet social scientists will have to be even more active in studying and propagandizing the advantages which socialism creates for the solution of urgent socio-economic and political problems. The Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR" emphasized that "the Soviet Union does not impose any stereotypes and 'models' of state organization which ignore the special characteristics of one or another country upon anyone. It is exercising a growing influence on the course of history by the very fact of its existence, by the real practice of a new type of social and inter-national relations, and by the strength of its example in solving very difficult problems with which capitalism is not capable of coping."\*

The problem of "The Revolutionary Process and the Struggle for Peace" has become especially important in the present international situation. During the discussion of it the conference participants noted that many of the developing countries of Asia and Africa occupy a worthy position among the forces struggling for peace in the world. Their on-the-whole anti-imperialist and anti-militarist course is generally recognized, and is reflected in the activities of these countries in the UN, at the forums of the non-aligned countries, in the Organization of African Unity, and in other international organizations. At the same time, it was emphasized that the countries of Asia and Africa could play a greater role in strengthening detente, in the struggle for peace, and in counter-acting the intentions of the United States and the other NATO members to make use of the territory of others for the siting of their military bases and, especially, of nuclear weapons. They are not always sufficiently active in criticizing the aggressive course of the imperialist powers with respect to the developing countries. The liberated countries of Asia and Africa could make a more weighty contribution to the realization of the arms race limitation treaties and agreements which are in effect. The joint and coordinated actions

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\*PRAVDA, 21 February 1982.



of the developing countries of Africa and Asia and of the socialist states on the problems connected with the preservation of peace would be a very important factor in the successful political, socio-economic, and cultural development of the liberated countries, and would substantially help to deepen the revolutionary process in these states and to strengthen world peace and security.

Anatoliy A. Gromyko summed up the results of the conference.

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2959

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## CONFERENCE IN SWEDEN VIEWS ETHIOPIAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 83 pp 138-141

[Conference Summary by M. V. Rayt and V. K. Vigand: "The Seventh International Conference on Ethiopian Studies"]

[Excerpts] The 7th International Conference on Ethiopian Studies took place in April 1982 in Lund (Sweden). Its participants heard more than 80 reports by Ethiopian specialists from 14 countries: the USSR, Ethiopia, the United States, England, Italy, the FRG, and others. For the first time since the long interruption in the work of the conference an official delegation of scholars from Ethiopia took active part in it. The writers of these lines represented Soviet Ethiopian studies.

One of the meetings of the section was devoted to the situation in the African Horn. The report by Nyguse Ayele (Ethiopia) examined the foreign policy of Somalia's ruling circles which has led to aggression in Ethiopia. The report by M. V. Rayt (USSR) characterized the Soviet Union's fundamental position for all of the controversial issues in this region being resolved only by means of peaceable negotiations.

The most diverse issues were examined at the section on social and economic problems. The reports which were heard can be subdivided into the following basic groups: social anthropology, agrarian problems, and revolutionary transformations and political forces in Ethiopia. Among the reports of the first groups, interest was elicited in particular by the communication that the various prohibitions against individual types of food which are imposed by the Christian and Islamic religions influenced the dissemination of these religions among the peoples of Southern Ethiopia (W. Braukemper--FRG).

All of the reports on agrarian transformations were prepared by members of the Ethiopian delegation. Dessaleng Rakhmato reported on the results of field studies conducted in 1981 in four areas of Ethiopia which had the goal of elucidating the influence of nationalization and of transferring the land to the peasants on their standard of living. The reporter's conclusion amounted to the fact that the agrarian transformations had put an end to feudal relationships and had completely eliminated landlessness among the peasants. The statistical data cited by him testified to a substantial levelling of income, but to the preservation of the peasant's dependence upon the conditions under which the implements of labor are used. In the report by Fasil Gebre Kiros

the basic points of the land reform were set forth, and the approach of the revolutionary power to the creation of production cooperatives with different levels of land socialization and means of production was characterized. Analyzing the course of collectivization, the reporter used V. I. Lenin's works on cooperation. Alula Abate devoted his address to the problem of state farms.

The discussion of these reports showed that the Ethiopian scholars from the Western countries (as well as the students of Ethiopia in Sweden) have a poor idea of the actual situation in the contemporary Ethiopian village and for this reason underestimate the possibilities of collectivization in Socialist Ethiopia.

Among the reports devoted to the revolutionary transformations and political forces in Ethiopia, four were prepared by members of the Ethiopian delegation and two by Ethiopian scholars working abroad. Roberto Chigano (Ethiopia) analyzed the achievements of the national democratic revolution which have as their basis the nationalization of the means of production, the implementation of social programs, and the organized unification of the popular masses. This analysis was supplemented by the report by Fekadu Gedamu about the work experience of the city agencies of state power in Addis-Ababa. Great interest was elicited by the report by the Ethiopian scholar Khagos Gebre Iyesus who immigrated more than 15 years ago to Canada and who recently visited Ethiopia. On the basis of his personal impressions he gave a positive evaluation of the achievements of the Ethiopian revolution and refuted the slanderous assertions of certain Western Ethiopian specialists regarding the "dictatorial regime" which allegedly exists in the country. He convincingly criticized the calls for "federalization" which are actually aimed at the dismemberment of the country. Khagos Gebre Iyesus finished his address with a call to struggle for the new Ethiopia "from Marxist positions" and stated that there is nothing worse for a scholar than the attempt to defend "scientific neutralism."

A report by V. K. Vigand (USSR), "The Role of People's Power in the Ethiopian National Democratic Revolution," was heard at the same meeting. He characterized the role of the local agencies of state power--the city and rural associations of workers,--and analyzed the course of the ideological campaign being led by the Commission for the Organization of a Workers' Party of Ethiopia which is aimed at the formation of party cadres. The report drew a conclusion regarding the general African significance of the experience of the Ethiopian revolution which is already partially being applied, for example, in Angola and Ghana. This conclusion found support in the addresses of both the Ethiopian delegates and of certain other conference participants.

The work of the 7th International Conference on Ethiopian Studies testifies to the fact that traditional Ethiopian studies are undergoing substantial changes which are, above all, a consequence of the fundamental social and economic transformations taking place in Ethiopia itself during the course of its national democratic revolution.

There is a demarcation among the scholars engaged in Ethiopian studies. "Classical Ethiopian studies" which has absorbed features of the colonial approach

to Africa as an object for the study of less developed peoples is giving up its positions. The topics of historical research are also changing. The events of the past are being searched for connections with the present, and the analysis of them is becoming overall. The attitude of Ethiopian scholars abroad to the study of the problems of their homeland is becoming different. The work of young Ethiopian scholars who are employed in the national scientific centers of their country is becoming increasingly important.

The revolutionary events in Socialist Ethiopia are introducing fundamental changes in the future directions of Ethiopian studies. First, the conference demonstrated that some of the scholars both in Ethiopia and in the Western countries are beginning to employ the theses of Marxism-Leninism in order to analyze the internal and external factors influencing the development of Ethiopia. This tendency could grow stronger and lead to a further reorganization of all of Ethiopian studies, and to an ideological differentiation in the scholarly field regarding the study of events and their interpretation. Secondly, a very important place is beginning to be occupied by the study of contemporary socio-economic problems, and historical and ethnographic topics are being subordinated to the interests of the development of the new Ethiopia. Thirdly, the recent changes in the International Organizational Committee on Ethiopian Studies (particularly the introduction into its membership of representatives from Ethiopia), as well as the decision to hold the next 8th International Conference in Ethiopia in 1984--the 10th anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution--is increasing the role of Ethiopian scientific centers in the formation of future studies and in bringing them close to the new needs of the country.

The chief task which today faces Ethiopian specialists is probably to have scholars from various countries together with Ethiopian scholars promote a deep analysis of the problems facing contemporary Ethiopia, and an objective and genuinely scientific study of the various aspects of its politics, economics, history, and culture. Soviet Ethiopian specialists have to make an important contribution to the realization of this task.

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2959

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AFRICANISTICS IN THE INSTITUTE OF THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA AND AFRICA AT MOSCOW  
STATE UNIVERSITY

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 83 pp 141-148

[Article by N. V. Gromova and I. I. Filatova: "Africanistics in the Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa at Moscow State University"]

[Text] Africanistics in Moscow State University has a quite long history. A section of Africa entered the university course "Geography" (basically of a geographic and ethnographic character) which was given by the outstanding Russian scholar D. N. Anuchin for the first time during the first years of our century.

Since the October Revolution the study of Africa has involved primarily an analysis of the problems of colonialism and of the national liberation movement of the African peoples. This was the key to the organization of the lectures on the history of Africa in the course "The History of Colonial and Dependent Countries" which was given in 1939-1940 at the Historical Faculty by one of the first Marxist Africanists E. Shik.<sup>1</sup> In the 1930s P. S. Kuznetsov at the Philological Faculty studied the Swahili language and its grammatical structure. In the 1940s, at the Historical Faculty, lectures on Africa were a part of the course of general ethnography which was given by S. P. Tolstov, and then by S. A. Tokarev. In the 1950s information on Africa was contained in the courses on general history, ethnography, geographic, and economic geography which were given at MGU.

The beginning of a broad and systematic study of Africa at Moscow University is connected with the increased interest in this continent at the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s and with the creation in 1956 of the Institute of Eastern Languages at MGU, which was later renamed the Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa (ICAA). In 1961 a Department of Africanistics was organized in the institute (until 1979 it was led by Docent N. G. Kalinin).

The first Africanist students--a group of Swahili specialists--were admitted by the Institute of Eastern Languages in 1960. In 1961 a group of Amharist students was put together, and in 1962 a group for the Hausa language. Thus, in three years the Department of Africanistics organized the teaching of the most important African languages. The first Swahili teachers were N. V. Okhotina and N. V. Gromova, the first teacher of the Amharic language was Kebede Desta

(a citizen of Ethiopia) and E. B. Gankin, and the first teacher of the Hausa language was G. P. Korshunova (1937-1938).

In contrast to other departments which worked on the problems of the countries of Asia and based themselves in their work on the rich traditions of domestic Oriental studies, the Department of Africanistics had to do a very large amount for the first time. There were no textbooks and teaching aids in the basic subjects. There were still very few studies on the history, economics, and literatures of Africa which could be used in courses. The record library was quite poor. Some linguists began to teach immediately after graduating from institutes and were compelled to study in graduate school and prepare dissertations at the same time. Nevertheless, in a short period the department succeeded in organizing the teaching of the basic Africanist subjects. Many courses began to be given in our country for the first time: Introduction to Africanistics, Theoretical Grammar, Lexicology, The History and Dialectology of the African Languages Being Studied (N. V. Okhotina, N. V. Gromova, and others), The History of African Literatures (G. I. Potekhina), The History of Tropical and Southern Africa in Modern and the Most Recent Times (N. G. Kalinin, A. B. Davidson, L. A. Fridman), and The Geography and Economics of the Countries of Tropical and Southern Africa (L. A. Fridman). Courses were also given in the archaeology and ethnography of Africa (S. Ya. Berzina), and in the ancient and medieval history of Tropical and Southern Africa (N. G. Kalinin).

In addition, like all of the students in the institute, the Africanist students studied a wide range of humanistic subjects, including general linguistics, world history, the history of the countries of the East, the history of the literatures of the countries of Asia and Africa, and so forth. During those years the department was an overall one, and it brought together all of the institute's Africanists--linguists, literary scholars, historians, and economists.

Gradually the range of language and Africanist subjects studied in the department was expanded. New teachers came to the institute. Today a large collective of Africanists is working at the ISAA.

With the increased complexity of the institute's structure, and with the creation of new departments and of a new Social and Economic Faculty (along with the original Historical and Philological Faculty) the teaching of Africanist subjects was distributed among several departments. The history of African literatures and certain other philological subjects are now taught in the Department of the History of the Literatures of Asia and Africa; economic subjects--in the departments of the Social and Economic Faculty; and the Department of Africanistics takes care of the teaching of African languages and historical subjects.

During the 20 years of the Department of Africanistics' existence, in addition to the above-named, the Fula, Bámana, Malagasy, and Lingala languages were taught in the ISAA. As additional languages the students study Zulu, Somali, Tigre, and others. The specific nature and difficulty of the work of the department's linguists consists in the fact that these languages belong to different language families and the experience of teaching one cannot always be carried

over to another. Nevertheless, the department not only provides practical knowledge of languages. Theoretical courses are given for the linguistics students in each of the basic languages. The literary students and the linguists attend courses on the literatures of the individual regions of Africa. The following courses are given for students of history: Source Studies and Historiography of the Countries of Tropical and Southern Africa, The Economics and Contemporary Situation of the African Countries, Social Thought in the Countries of Tropical and Southern Africa, and The State Systems and Political Parties of the Countries of Africa. Students of economics attend the following courses in the Social and Economics Faculty: The Economics of the Countries of Africa, The Geography of the African Countries, The Ideological Struggle in the African Countries, and Social Structures of the African Countries.

In addition to the general courses, special courses are given on the various problems of Africanistics. Their content and the problems covered by them have changed in relation to the specializations of the student groups in basic regions and languages. Associates of the scientific research institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences--specialists in the various problems and regions of the African continent--are enlisted for special and certain general courses. Thus, students of history have been given special courses on the problems of the establishment of ideological currents and the formation of the intelligentsias in the countries of Tropical Africa, on the religions of Africa, the traditional beliefs of the African peoples, traditional law, the problems of the contemporary situation and of the ideological struggle in such individual African countries as Zaire, Kenya, Madagascar, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanzania, and Ethiopia, and on the present-day social and political problems of Africa.

Students of literature have attended special courses on folklore, the history of the study of the literatures of Africa in the USSR and abroad, and on literatures in the African languages. Special courses in linguistics have included such topics as Comparative Grammar of the Bantu Languages, Phonology of the Languages of Western Africa, The Socio-Linguistic Situation in the Countries of Africa, Grammatical Categories of the Bantu Languages, Word Formation, The Problems of the Name Class, and others.

At the Social and Economics Faculty students are given the following special courses: The Problems of Thermal Energy in the Developing Countries (Tendencies and Prospects), International Settlements and Financing, The Formation of a Working Class in the Developing Countries of Asia and Africa, The Typology of African Countries, New Ruling Groups in the Countries of Tropical Africa, and others.

The work of the Africanists of the ISAA is connected with such an important and specific branch of Africanistics as the development of textbooks and teaching aids. Elementary courses in Amharic, and in Swahili and Fula, and a Swahili textbook for the senior courses are among the most important works of this kind which have been prepared by the department's linguists.<sup>2</sup> Teaching aids have been made up in the various aspects of the African languages being taught and studied.<sup>3</sup>

The instructional process is gradually being supplied with diverse teaching and methodological materials: anthologies, dictionaries, collections of texts, conversation books, and so forth.<sup>4</sup> Teaching materials have been prepared for the languages which are being taught for the first time (Bamana, Lingala, and Malagasy)--these materials include texts for reading and thematic exercises which also comprise the basis of the textbooks and teaching aids being prepared. The record libraries for all of the languages are regularly renewed.

The department's linguists are performing a large amount of work to compile and renew dictionaries. Some of the dictionaries which have been published by the university's teachers are the first in domestic linguistics and the fullest in the world: for example, the Amharic-Russian and Russian-Amharic dictionaries by E. B. Gankin, and the Fula-Russian-French dictionary by G. V. Zubko which contains phonetic and grammatical essays on the languages, and the Russian-Malagasy dictionary by L. A. Kartashova.

The department's historians have written sections on Tropical and Southern Africa in all of the teaching aids for the general course on the history of the countries of Asia and Africa which have been published in MGU during the last 20 years.<sup>5</sup> E. S. L'vova has prepared a teaching aid on the ethnography of Tropical and Southern Africa.

The department's associates have participated in putting together anthologies in world history, including the history of the Middle Ages and modern history.<sup>6</sup> They are now preparing anthologies in the modern history of Africa. All of the general and special courses on the history, economics, and literatures of the countries of Africa which are given in the ISAA are provided with syllabi. Historians from MGU have also participated in making up the basic syllabi and methodological instructions for the history of the countries of Asia and Africa, materials which are used in other USSR higher educational institutions.<sup>7</sup>

The writing of course and diploma essays is a very important aspect of the training of students in the ISAA. The topics of the course and diploma essays of the students of history cover the important problems of the present-day socio-economic and political development of the countries of Tropical and Southern Africa, the most important problems of the continent's history, and also source studies and the historiography of the African countries. Literature specialists study the distinctive features of the creative work of the most important African writers, work on typologies of the African literatures, and study the folklore and ethics of the African peoples.

Students of linguistics perform experimental surveys of the phonetic and morphological laws of a given language, work on a description of the grammatical structure of a language and on discovering its characteristic grammatical categories, study word formation methods, perform quantitative-frequency analyses of the lexicon of a language and of its word formation and grammatical affixes, compare related languages, and so forth.

In the Social and Economics Faculty students write course and diploma essays on the various aspects of the economic development and social structures of



the African countries, the important problems of international economic relations which are connected with Africa, and the various aspects of the economic relations of the socialist countries with the countries of the African continent.

Students frequently use sources in the original African languages for their course and diploma essays. Their topics also cover countries whose languages are not studied in the department--Angola, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Mauritania, Zambique, Rwanda, Senegal, Somali, Uganda, the Republic of South Africa, and others.

During the 20 years of its existence the department has graduated around 150 specialists who are working as translators, editors, journalists, and so forth and who occupy responsible posts in various state institutions and public organizations. Many of the graduates teach in higher educational institutions and work in scientific research institutes, including in the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

A large amount of work is being done in the Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa to train scientific cadres through graduate studies. During these years around 40 people have been trained in graduate studies on the problems of Africa. Candidates' dissertations have been defended by 26 of them. Almost one-half of the candidates' dissertations defended at the department were written by representatives of the socialist and developing countries, including African countries.

The Africanist teachers of the ISAA conduct scientific research in practically all of the basic fields of modern Africanistics. The results of this research are generalized in individual monographs, collective works, and articles. A monograph by N. V. Gromova is devoted to one of the central problems in the grammar of the Bantu languages--the problem of delimiting and separating parts of speech.<sup>8</sup> A monograph by G. V. Zubko, "The Morphology of the Fula Language," has also been prepared for the press.

The department's linguists, together with Africanists from other VUZes and academic institutes, have prepared and published a number of thematic collections in which a new approach is proposed to the consideration and solution of the theoretical problems of African linguistics.<sup>9</sup> In addition to the most widespread languages of Africa, there are analyses in these collections of African languages which have recently acquired writing and of those which have no writing (Bamana, Fanti, Nuamwezi, Mvery, and others). The diversity of the structures and types of the languages being studied is of interest both for individual and for general comparative historical linguistics. The thematic direction of the latter two collections has been changed somewhat through a deeper analysis of language levels--phonetics, morphology, and syntax. A collection of articles on the syntax of the African languages is being prepared for the press.

The themes of the collections are to a large extent determined by the needs of teaching. As a rule, they are concrete linguistic issues whose lack of development in one way or another holds back the teaching process. Theoretical works, for example, dissertations, are frequently of practical importance. Thus, the dissertation by I. A. Togoyeva, "Basic Problems of the Grammatical

Structure of the Simple Sentence in the Bámána Language," is used as a teaching aid for the grammar of this language. The basic grammatical material is set forth in the form of formulas based on the list of grammatical command formulas which have been described in the dissertation.

The problems which are being solved by our Africanist linguists are extensive and many-sided. Nevertheless, a definite direction can be observed in the scientific work of each scholar, as can the range of his scientific interests. Thus, a number of works by E. B. Gankin are devoted to a study of the important problems of Amharic lexicology, phraseology, and word formation. He also studies the phonetic, grammatical, and semantic characteristics of Amharic sound imitating and image imitating verbs which is one of the largest classes of words in the Amharic language.<sup>10</sup> The topic of N. V. Gromova's research concerns the morphology and syntax of the Bantu languages (Swahili, Zulu, Ganda), and also the typology of the semantics of the name class, a definition of the grammatical categories in the Bantu languages (the relative, the animation category, the category of person, the relationship between the categories of class and number, and so forth); the work on these issues is important not only in a scientific but also in a practical respect.<sup>11</sup> G. V. Zubko devotes a large amount of attention to the difficult issues of the morphology and morphonology of Fula proper nouns, to the problem of prosodic relations, the typology of proper nouns in Ful'be, and to the problem of the genesis of name classes.<sup>12</sup> Many of the above-named problems of the Fula language have still not been illuminated in world Fulanistics. Lexicology and word formation processes in the Swahili language is the basic topic of the scientific work by N. G. Fedorova. She also deals with the solution of such individual problems of syntax as the structure of the complex subordinate sentence, speech intonation in a special question in the Swahili sentence.<sup>13</sup> L. A. Kartashova studies the problems of the morpheme structure of a word in the Malagasy language, the morphological characteristics of the language, and so forth. The words of I. A. Togoyeva are devoted to a description of the characteristics of the grammatical structures of newly written languages.

The teachers of the Social and Economics Faculty work on various problems of contemporary Africanistics. L. A. Fridman studies the typology of the developing countries with regard to the level of the development of their productive forces and the structure of their economies. He gives a great deal of attention to studying the social and economic history of Egypt.<sup>14</sup> L. V. Geveling studies the social structures of African societies, particularly the bourgeois and protobourgeois strata.<sup>15</sup> His research also includes the influence of state policy on the development of socio-economic structures in the African countries. This problem is the topic of his candidate's dissertation and his monograph "Managers in Tropical Africa." V. N. Portnov studies the economy of Nigeria, and the problems of thermal power engineering in the developing countries.<sup>16</sup>

The department's first literary scholar was G. I. Potekhina (1926-1979) who is rightly regarded as one of the pioneers of the study of African literatures in the USSR. Her monograph, "Essays in the Contemporary Literature of West Africa" (Moscow, 1968), opened up a new direction in Soviet Africanistics. G. I. Potekhina's range of scholarly interests was wide. She studied the role

of the oral historical tradition in the literary and historical work of African writers, and the forms of the "spiritual decolonization" of the African intelligentsia during the inter-war period, and the special characteristics of the formation of the views of the African intelligentsia. The article by G. I. Potekhina "Colonial Regimes and Culture"<sup>17</sup> studies the influence of the colonial policies of the metropolitan powers on the process of the establishment of the colonies' intelligentsias. G. I. Potekhina performed a large amount of work on the popularization of the best works of African literature: she wrote introductory articles to collections of poetry and prose, and to the novels and stories of African writers. Her collections of articles on the problems of African literatures were published under her editorship.<sup>18</sup>

Ye. Ya. Surovtsev studies the modern literature of the English-speaking countries of Tropical Africa. He has compiled collections of East African poetry and has written introductory articles for them.<sup>19</sup>

The historical division of the Department of Africanistics is working on several scientific directions in the various periods of the history of Tropical and Southern Africa. A study of the problems of the anti-colonial struggle and of colonialism is one of them. The resistance of the peoples of Southern Africa to the colonial occupiers and the establishment of new forms of the anti-colonial struggle are examined in the monograph by A. B. Davidson,<sup>20</sup> and also in the sections of large collective works of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences which have been written by him.<sup>21</sup> A generalizing report by A. B. Davidson on the problems of the anti-colonial struggle of the African peoples was published in a collection of the reports of the International Congress of African Historians which took place in Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzania).<sup>22</sup> A number of concrete issues of the national liberation movement are worked on in many of the candidate's dissertations which have been prepared in the department.

A study of the various aspects of colonialism's influence on African societies and of their social transformation during the colonial years is another important direction of the research of the department's historians. This topic was the subject of many candidate's dissertations which were defended in the department, including the dissertation of I. I. Filatova, and also the monograph "The History of Kenya in Modern and the Most Recent Times" which she has prepared for the press. The department's historians give a great deal of attention to the study of the problems of the socio-economic and political development of the countries of Africa after their proclamation of independence. E. S. L'vova studies the contemporary problems of ethnic relations and of the establishment of nations in Africa.<sup>23</sup>

An important place in the scholarly work of the department's historians on modern and the most recent history is occupied by the problems of the historical relations between Russia and Africa.<sup>24</sup> The historical and social role of the traditional beliefs of Africans is the topic of study by K. A. Melik-Simonyan.<sup>25</sup>

A study of the problems of the ancient and medieval history of Tropical and Southern Africa is being conducted at the department in two basic directions: the processes of class formation and the establishment of statehood; and the

social and political structures of the precolonial societies of Africa. Several candidate's dissertations dealing with the first problem have been defended (including by S. Ya. Berzina and E. S. L'vova). Let us also take note of the monograph "Pages From the Life of the Great Savannah" (Moscow, 1979) which was published by E. S. L'vova in co-authorship with A. S. Orlova. The second problem has been treated in the works of E. S. L'vova on the social and political structures of Central African societies.<sup>26</sup> The department's teachers are working on a topic which is new for world Africanistics--national history in the African countries. They have written a number of sections in the collection "The Science of History in the Countries of Africa" (Moscow, 1979) which was the first attempt at a generalized characterization of the national historiography of the African countries. Several works on this topic have been published by E. S. L'vova and I. I. Filatova.<sup>27</sup> Historians are devoting a large amount of attention to studying the problems of source studies for African history.<sup>28</sup> The chronology of African history is the research topic of E. S. L'vova.<sup>29</sup>

Still another important direction in the work of the historians of the Department of Africanistics is the publication of documents on the history of Africa. Thus, A. B. Davidson has translated into Russian and published documents on the history of the national liberation struggle in the south of Africa.<sup>30</sup> I. I. Filatova has selected and translated documents of the pan-African movement.<sup>31</sup> The department's associates have written sections in such collective works as "A Brief World History," and in a number of volumes of "World History" and "Countries and Peoples."<sup>32</sup>

The department's associates maintain close scholarly contacts with the collectives of other scholarly centers in the Soviet Union which are working on African problems, and participate in the conferences, congresses, and symposiums on African problems which are held in the USSR and abroad.

Relations with the African countries are developing. Africans are teaching their languages to students. The students and teachers of the department (N. V. Gromova, L. A. Kartashova) are undergoing training in African countries where they are working as translators. The work of some of the department's teachers has been taken note of by the government and scholarly public of the African countries. E. B. Gankin has been awarded the state gold medal of Ethiopia, L. A. Kartashova has been elected as a member of the Malagasy Academy of Sciences and awarded a national order of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar.

The Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa has become an important center for the training of specialists on African problems. A considerable amount has already been accomplished, but this is only the first stage of the establishment of a new field of scholarship within the walls of Moscow University.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See: NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No. 3, 1971, pp 210-214; No. 2, 1981, pp 148-160.

2. E. B. Gankin. Kasa Gebre-Khyyvot," Part I, Moscow, 1966; N. G. Fedorova, "Swahili Language Textbook," Moscow, 1974; G. V. Zubko, "Teaching Aid for the Fula Language for the First Course," Moscow, 1971; G. V. Zubko, "Teaching Aid for the Fula Language for the II-III Courses," Part II, Moscow, 1973; N. V. Gromova and Ye. N. Myachina, "Textbook of the Swahili Language," Moscow, 1973.
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4. G. V. Zubko, "Fula-Russian Learning Dictionary," Moscow, 1966; G. V. Zubko, "Instructional Materials for Home Reading in the Fula Language for the II-III Courses," Moscow, 1973; N. V. Gromova, N. V. Okhotina, and I. P. Yakovleva, "Instructional Materials in the Swahili Language for the II-III Courses," Moscow, 1967.
5. "History of the Countries of Asia and Africa in the Middle Ages," Moscow, 1968 (the sections on Africa were written by N. G. Kalinin and E. S. L'vova); "Modern History of the Countries of Asia and Africa," Moscow, 1971 (the sections on Africa were written by N. G. Kalinin and L. A. Fridman); "The Most Recent History of the Countries of Asia and Africa," Moscow, 1965 (the sections on Africa were written by A. B. Davidson, N. G. Kalinin, and L. A. Fridman); "The Most Recent History of the Countries of Asia and Africa," Vols. I-II, Moscow, 1977, 1979 (the sections on Africa were written by A. B. Davidson and I. I. Filatova).
6. "Anthology on the History of the Middle Ages," Vol. II, Moscow, 1962; "Anthology of Modern History," Vol. I, Moscow, 1963 (the sections on Africa were compiled by N. G. Kalinin).
7. "Course Syllabus on the History of the Countries of Asia and Africa for State Universities," First Edition, Moscow, 1965; Second Edition, Moscow, 1975; "The Most Recent History of the Countries of Asia and Africa. Methodological Instructions," Moscow, 1978; "Modern History of the Countries of Asia and Africa. Methodological Instructions for Correspondent Students at University Faculties of History," Fourth Edition, Moscow, 1977 (the sections on Africa were written by A. B. Davidson, N. G. Kalinin, and E. S. L'vova).
8. N. V. Gromova, "The Parts of Speech in the Bantu Languages and the Principles of Their Demarcation," Moscow, 1966.
9. "African Philology (Edited by N. V. Okhotina)," Moscow, 1965; "Problems of African Philology (Edited by N. V. Okhotina)," Moscow, 1974; "Problems of the Phonetics, Morphology, and Syntax of African Languages," (Edited by N. V. Okhotina), Moscow, 1978; "Problems of African Linguistics," (Edited by N. V. Gromova), Moscow, 1979.

10. E. B. Gankin, "Phraseologism and Word in the Contemporary Amharic Language." "Works of Samarkand State University." Issue 178, Samarkand, 1970; "The Lexicon of the Contemporary Amharic Language From the Point of View of Its Origin." "Scholarly Notes of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations," Issue 6, Moscow, 1971; "Ways and Means of Creating New Terminology in the Amharic Language." "Basic Problems of Africanistics," Moscow, 1973; "Structural-Semantic Types of Complex Words." "Semitic Languages," Issue 3, Moscow, 1976; and others.
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13. N. G. Fedorova, "Basic Means of Noun Word Formation in the Swahili Language." "African Philology," Moscow, 1964; N. G. Fedorova, "Morphological Methods of Word Formation of Nouns and the Problem of Borrowed Words in the Swahili Language." "Works of the University of the Friendship of Peoples imeni P. Lumumba," Issue 4, Moscow, 1969; N. G. Fedorova, "Complex Words and Noun Word Combinations in Swahili." "Africana," Leningrad, 1971.
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17. G. I. Potekhina, "The Colonial Regimes and Culture (Based on the Example of the Literatures of Western Africa)," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No. 4, 1968.
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20. A. B. Davidson, "Southern Africa: The Establishment of Protest Forces. 1870-1924," Moscow, 1972.
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28. "Source Studies in African History," Moscow, 1977.
29. E. S. L'vova, "Toward the Problem of Chronology in the History of Africa." "Basic Problems of Africanistics," Moscow-Leningrad, 1973.
30. "Races and Peoples," Issue 2, Moscow, 1972.
31. "Races and Peoples," Issue 7, Moscow, 1977.
32. "Brief World History," Moscow, 1966; "World History," Vol. XI, Moscow, 1977; Vol. XII, Moscow, 1979; "Countries and Peoples. Western and Central Africa," Moscow, 1979.

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2959

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ORIENTAL STUDIES PUBLICATIONS PLANNED FOR 1983 SURVEYED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 83 pp 148-151

[Publications Summary by O. K. Dreyer: "The Main Editorial Office for Eastern Literature in 1983"]

[Text] January of last year marked a quarter of a century since the creation of the Publishing House for Eastern Literature of the USSR Academy of Sciences-- now the Main Editorial Board for Eastern Literature (GRVL) of the "Nauka" Publishing House. The Main Editorial Board publishes the main scientific works of all of the academic institutes which study the countries of Asia, Africa, Australia, and Oceania. It has made a considerable contribution to the publication of translations of the literature, folklore, and also monuments of Eastern writing. The best works of Soviet scholars on the most diverse problems of the history, economics, and culture of the countries of Asia, Africa, Australia, and Oceania which have been published by the GRVL have received international recognition: this is witnessed by the numerous publications of these works abroad in translation into Eastern and Western languages.

In recent years the collected works in nine volumes of the distinguished Soviet Orientalist Academician V. V. Bartol'd has been published, as have the works of the following well-known scholars: Academicians V. P. Alekseyev, B. G. Gafurov, V. A. Gordlevskiy, A. A. Guber, A. N. Kononov, N. I. Konrad, I. Yu. Krachkovskiy, M. A. Korostovtsev, I. A. Orbeli, Ye. M. Primakov, V. V. Struve, and S. L. Tikhvinskiy, and the corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ye. E. Bertel's, G. F. Kim, N. V. Pigulevskaya, Yu. A. Polyakov, N. T. Fedorenko, and Ye. P. Chelyshev, and other members of the union and republic Academies of Sciences.

The series "Language of the Peoples of Asia and Africa" which was founded in 1959 and which is already represented by 120 essays in the Russian language and 24 in the English language is popular with readers. An important role in studying the culture of the peoples of Asia and Africa is played by the series "Monuments of the Written Languages of the East" in which 123 volumes have been published during these years; highly valuable monuments of Arabic, Persian, Chinese, Japanese, and Indian cultures have been published in this series.

Textbooks on the history of the countries of Asia and Africa and on Eastern languages, and ethnography reference books have occupied a large place in the

output of the GRVL. The experience involved in publishing the above will serve as the basis for the future "Encyclopedia of the Countries of Asia." The publication of translations of the best foreign Oriental studies is a matter of great interest. The series "Stories About the Countries of the East" in which more than 150 titles have been published plays an important role in propagandizing Oriental studies.

All of this bears witness to the fact that Oriental studies publishing is a component part of the Soviet policy of friendship and solidarity with the peoples of Asia and Africa. The popularization of knowledge about the East, and the publication of translations of Eastern literature--this is a tribute of respect to the culture of the peoples of the East, and a testimony of recognition of the enormous importance of the struggle which is being waged by the peoples of Asia and Africa against the forces of imperialism for their liberation, and of their successes in the construction of a new life. The topic of the USSR's international assistance to the peoples of the East occupies a large place in the publications.

The 1983 thematic publications plan includes a number of generalizing works which have been prepared by authors' collectives of Orientalists and Africanists. A large monograph, "Proletarian Internationalism and the Development of the Socialist Countries of Asia," has been created by a collective of scholars from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia. Using the Mongolian People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and the Korean People's Democratic Republic as examples, the role of the idea of proletarian socialist internationalism in the development of the previously backward peoples of Asia who have selected the socialist path is examined. The work reveals the basic features of the practical implementation of these ideas at the current stage of the development of the world socialist system.

The work, "The Cooperation of the CEMA Member Countries With the Developing States in the Solution of the Food Problem," is of undoubted interest. In this first analytic work which examines the interaction of the CEMA countries and the developing states the basic forms are shown of economic and technical cooperation in the agricultural food sphere with the partners of the countries of the socialist commonwealth in the developing world. Especial attention has been devoted to an evaluation of the effectiveness of trade and economic cooperation in solving the food problem in the CEMA countries.

In the monograph by G. I. Chufrin, "The Economic Integration of the Developing Countries of Asia: Possibilities, Difficulties, and Limits," which analyzes an important but until now little studied problem there is a depiction of the uniqueness of the material preconditions of integration, the role of political, ideological, and economic factors in this process, and the internal contradictoriness of the integration measures. The first basic study in the scholarly literature of the interconnection and contradictions of the economic and social development of the former colonial and dependent countries, "The Developing Countries: Economic Growth and Social Progress," analyzes the differentiation of the developing countries, the structure of economic growth, class formation, and the place of cultural and social factors in development.

In 1983 the GRVL will continue to publish various reference books. Thus, it is planned to publish the reference works, "Indonesia," "Islam," "Political Parties of Modern Africa," "The Higher Educational and Scientific Institutions of Japan," and also the three-volume "Mathematicians and Astronomers of the Moslem Middle Ages and Their Works (VIII-XVII Centuries)." A new series, "Ethnographical Library," is being initiated by the publication for a first time in Russian translation of the book by the well-known French ethnographer and philosopher C. Lévi-Strauss, "Structural Anthropology." In the "Philosophical Problems" section let us take note of the books: "The Foreign East. Religious Traditions and the Present Day"; A. B. Letnev, "Social Thought in Western Africa: 1918-1939"; "The Spread of Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam"; G. I. Levinson, "Ideologists of Contemporary Philippine Nationalism"; A. V. Malashenko, "The Official Ideology of Contemporary Algeria." In 1983 the regular issue of the annual, "Religions of the World. History and the Present Day," will be published.

In 1983 a large number of books on the history and economics of the countries of Africa will be published. "The Global Problems of the Present Day and Africa"--is the first scientific study in the Soviet literature of the influence of global problems on the social and economic development of the liberated countries of the continent. On the basis of materials from the countries of Africa and the developed capitalist countries, the monograph by M. M. Golanskiy, "Economic Forecasting," examines the distinctive features of social and economic forecasting. A general model is shown, and a forecast of the dynamics of key indicators is given for most of the countries of Africa and for the developed capitalist countries until the beginning of the next century. A number of works are devoted to Southern Africa. The collective monograph, "Crisis in the South of Africa," which was prepared by scientific associates of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences studies the social and economic processes which are occurring in the Republic of South Africa and in Namibia--the last centers of colonialism and racism on the continent; the work by V. P. Gorodnov, "Black Residents of a White City (The Life and Struggle of the African Ghetto)," is devoted to an analysis of both the social and political problems which arise during the course of urbanization in a situation of racial discrimination and apartheid and the cultural and psychological processes which take place under the overall influence of traditional and contemporary factors. The events in Soweto in 1976 are described, as are the subsequent stages of the liberation struggle against the racists of the Republic of South Africa. The works by Soviet Orientalists on the history and economics of Afghanistan are of great interest: V. G. Korgun, "The Intelligentsia in the Political Life of Afghanistan"; V. A. Romodin, "Essays in the History and the History and Culture of Afghanistan" (middle of the XIX--first third of the XX century); and N. M. Gurevich, "The Revolution of 1978 in Afghanistan. Socio-Economic Preconditions." These works deal for the first time with the participation of the revolutionary democratic intelligentsia in the struggle for the interests of the workers on the eve of and after the 1978 revolution, and the development of the ideology of the revolutionary movement during the second half of the 19th century, and others. The one-volume edition of the works of the well-known Soviet Orientalist A. F. Miller, "Turkey: Important Problems of Modern and Most Recent History," includes articles from various years, including some devoted to the life, activities, and evolution of the ideological and political views of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk,

and work on the history of the establishment of Soviet-Turkish relations. The Institute of Ethnography has prepared for publication the collection "Little Peoples of Indochina," in which there is an examination of the fates of more than 100 ethnic communities of Indochina which are at various stages of social development and which number around 30 million people. In the work by A. A. Simoniy, "Petroleum and Gas in the Countries of Southeast Asia," there is an analysis of the development of the petroleum and gas industry in a number of countries in the region. The collection of articles, "Southeast Asia: History and the Present Day" is devoted to the memory of the founder of the Soviet School of Studies of the Countries of Southeast Asia, Academician A. A. Guber. It considers his role as a distinguished scholar and important organizer of Soviet science, and also treats the important problems of ideology and politics in the countries of the region.

The book, "The History of Vietnam," which is translated from the Vietnamese language and in which the history of the country from ancient times to the middle of the 19th century is set forth in a popular form is of great interest. Among the studies devoted to India are the books by A. P. Kolontayev, "The Dynamics and Structure of Employment in India," and A. D. Litman, "Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan," which is devoted to the distinguished thinker and important statesman of India. New results of the studies of Soviet scholars of the important problems of the economics, ideology and politics, and history and culture of India are published in the annual, "India-1982." As is traditional, a number of works are devoted to China. These are the books by T. N. Akatova, "The Workers' Movement in Kuomintang China"; A. I. Kartunova, "The Politics of the Communist Party of China in the Worker Question on the Eve of the Revolution of 1925-27"; the regular annual, "The Chinese People's Republic in 1981. Politics, Economics, Ideology"; "Chinese Communists are Internationalists"; V. V. Malyavin, "The Destruction of the Ancient Empire. Politics and Ideology in China of the II-III Centuries"; three volumes of "The Modern History of China. 1917-1981," and others. Among the works devoted to Japan special mention should be made of the monograph by Yu. D. Kuznetsov, "The Social Structure of Contemporary Japan"; and the annual, "Japan-1982." The countries of the Pacific Ocean are the subject of the monograph by P. I. Puchkov, "The Ethnic Situation in Oceania," which provides the latest information on the ethnogenesis and ethnic history of the peoples of Oceania, and gives a forecast of the basic directions of the ethnic development of Oceania. Books will be published on the history of the Ancient East. The monograph by I. D. Amusin, "The Kurman Commune," investigates the socio-political, religious, and cultural history of Palestine on the eve of our era. The third issue of "Meroe" (collection of articles) examines the problems of the ancient and medieval history of the countries of Northeast Africa and the Red Sea. For the first time in the scientific literature the monograph by A. G. Perikhanyan, "The Society and Law of Iran During the Parthian and Sassanid Periods," describes the history of the social and legal institutions of Iran during the II century B.C. to the VII century A.D. It is planned to publish nine books in the series "Stories About the Countries of the East," including the memoirs of a participant in the first Indian expedition to Mount Everest Kh. Aluvalia, "Higher Than Everest," the book by G. B. Navlitskaya, "Osaka"--about one of the largest cities of Japan,--and the fourth and concluding book about Oceania by the Czechoslovakian writer

and ethnographer M. Stingl, "Enchanting Hawaii." In the series "On the Trail of Vanished Cultures of the East" the reader's attention will be attracted by the book by A. G. Galanopulos and E. Bacon, "Atlantis. The Truth Behind the Legend," which seeks to unravel one of the most interesting secrets in history--Atlantis and its disappearance. Four books will be published in the series "Monuments of the Written Languages of the East," and of them note should be taken of the "Memoirs" of Tazkire Mukhammad Riza Barnabadi--a family chronicle and history of the feudal Herat clan from the beginning of the XV century to the first decade of the XIX century.

Publication of the book, "The Nonaligned Movement in Documents and Materials," is planned for 1983.

In literary scholarship let us note the books: O. P. Bolotina, "Lao Shi: Works of the War Years (1937-1949)"; L. G. Akhmedzyanova, "Tazkere Akhmada Gordzhi Akhtara 'Andzhoman-Ara' (Second Half of the XVIII-Beginning of the XIX Century)"; V. I. Braginskiy, "A History of Malaysian Literature (VII-XIX Centuries)"--the first systematic and detailed examination of the history of Malaysian literature in the history of domestic Oriental studies; and Ye. M. Meletinskiy, "The Medieval Novel: Origin and Classical Forms." There is an interesting book (translation from English) in which there are articles and essays by African writers--"The Writer and Society." In the series "Writers and Scholars of the East" it is planned to publish books by E. A. Ali-Zade, "Makhmud Teymur," V. N. Goreglyad, "Ki-No Tsurayuka," L. L. Gromkovskaya, "Tokutomi Roka," I. D. Serebryakov, "Bkhartrikhari," and A. S. Sukhochev, "Krishnan Chandar." A number of publications are ancient, medieval, modern, and contemporary prose and poetry works of the East; among them are: "Olden Arabia. From Ancient Arabian Poetry and Prose"; "The Lyrical Poetry of the Ancient East"; and "The Tale of Khang Tuakhe" (translated from Malaysian.) Among the works in linguistics, let us name those like "The Phonetic Structure of the Vietnamese Language" by M. V. Gordina and I. S. Bystrov; "The Language 'Altan Tobchi'" by M. N. Orlovskaya; and the collective monograph, "The Development of Languages in the Countries of the Foreign East." The following works will be published in the "Culture and Art" section: I. P. Kozhevnikova, "A Russian Artist in Japan: Varvara Bubnova"--an account of Russo-Japanese cultural relations; I. V. Podberezskiy, "The Philippines: A Search for Originality (Contemporary Philippine Cultural Studies)"; and the collection of articles, "The Traditional Culture of China." A regular volume of the English language annual, "Africa in Soviet Studies" will be published in 1983.

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2959

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## ORIENTAL INSTITUTE HOLDS CONFERENCE ON AFRO-ASIAN STATE-BUILDING

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 83 pp 152-153

[Conference Report\*: "The Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] On 9 June 1982 a theoretical conference, "The Problems of Nation-State Building in the Liberated Countries of the East," which was devoted to the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR was held in the division of the general theoretical problems of the social and political development of the countries of Asia and Northern Africa.

The conference was opened by the institute's deputy director, the Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G. F. Kim. He took note of the difficulty of the problems facing the governments of the developing states in the sphere of the solution of the nationalities question and the creation of a strong and reliable state and social organization in the polyethnic countries of Asia and Africa, and he characterized the conference's tasks--to examine the role of the national ethnic factor in the domestic political and social life of the Afro-Asian states.

The report, "The National Factor in the Social and Political Life of the Liberated Countries of Asia and Africa," which was given by the Director of the Group for the Study of the Nationalities Question A. B. Davidson contained an analysis of the increased role of the national factors in the social and political life of the liberated countries and the reasons for this increase. A. B. Davidson took note of the general upsurge of national feelings in the zone of the national liberation movement. The range of their intensity and thrust is great: from feelings of national dignity and progressive patriotism to a belligerent, aggressive nationalism. The nationalities question in the liberated countries has two aspects: a domestic and a foreign one. Within each state the relationships between the peoples which inhabit it frequently form a whimsical criss-crossing of sympathies, indifference, antipathies, and open hostility. Many movements which at first set themselves the very moderate goal of defending national originality and of the achievement of administrative autonomy, later, frequently

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\*Materials were presented by: A. B. Volkov, M. N. Amvrosova, E. S. L'vova, S. K. Tsaturova, B. B. Parnikel', N. V. Yeliseyeva, and I. A. Kozintseva.

with the incitement and support of outside forces, develop into chauvinism and separatism. The governments which head the states with multinational populations sometimes have to accomplish very difficult tasks, namely: how is one to combine the aspiration of various ethnic and confessional communities for self-determination with the necessity for preserving the integrity of the state and maintaining political stability in it, and how is an expansion of the prerogatives of local agencies of power to be combined with the preservation of the power of the central government.

With regard to its foreign aspect, the nationalities question in the East frequently takes on the form of a confrontation or open armed clash between neighboring states. This can be explained by various reasons: the settlement in the border areas of two or several states of a single people which has been divided into parts by state borders, and the claims of the governments of neighboring states to the border territories of their neighbors; the rivalry of different ethnic or religious elites in power for political hegemony in the region, and so forth.

Having noted that the increased role of the national ethnic factor and the upsurge in nationalistic feelings has to be regarded in the general context of social evolution, the reporter emphasized that national feelings absorb all of the manifestations of increasing social dissatisfaction and protest. Along with the general causes of the increased complexity of national ethnic problems which exist in many of the countries of the capitalist world, the Afro-Asian states experience the influence of the complex of ethno-national contradictions whose roots are in the colonial and pre-colonial periods of their history.

Associates of the Institute of Oriental Studies delivered communications on the various aspects of the nationalities questions in the contemporary foreign East. S. D. Bürobina characterized the relationships of the Christian and Moslem communities in Lebanon in connection with the Near East conflict. An analysis of the situation which developed in Lebanon in the 1970s shows that the aggressive policy of Israel's ruling circles with respect to their neighboring Arab states has substantially helped to incite inter-communal conflict in Lebanon and to undermine the integrity of the Lebanese state. A. B. Volkov reviewed the foreign research on the problem of national integration in the liberated states of Asia which are developing along the capitalist path. Lyu Yunan' examined individual aspects of nation-state building in the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s and the processes of national consolidation and state organization in the liberated countries of Asia. T. F. Sivertseva delivered a communication on the influence of the ethno-social and ethno-cultural factors on demographic processes in the Asian countries. V. V. Trubetskoy took note of essential aspects in the policy of the present leadership of the Islamic Republic of Iran on the nationalities question. He characterized the nationality situation in Iran as extremely difficult and strained. A conflict is taking place between the aspiration of the non-Persian peoples for administrative and political autonomy and the intention of the presently most influential circles of the Moslem clergy which is determining the government's policy to strengthen a unitary theocratic state under the motto of "A Centralized Theocratic State-Community of Moslems."

Speaking in the discussions, L. R. Polonskaya took note of the importance of studying such a phenomenon as the reflection of the processes of national ethnic development in the spheres of ideology and mass consciousness. She emphasized that investigators who are working on a study of the contemporary political and social processes in the countries of Asia and Africa should make fuller use of the practical experience of Soviet power in solving the nationalities question and building a multinational state. In the opinion of L. I. Reysner, the questions which were being discussed at the conference are of great importance for many of the problems of economic and social and political development in the liberated countries of Asia and Africa. He noted, in particular, that the national aspect has to be taken into consideration in studies of the economic history and theories of economic growth in the liberated countries. V. V. Lukov characterized the role of the national-ethnic factor in the formation and activities of such an important social institution as the armed forces in the countries of Asia and Africa.

The concluding remarks were delivered by N. A. Simoniya.

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2959

CSO: 1870/261



SCHOLARLY WORKS ON FORMATION OF AFRO-ASIAN WORKING CLASS SURVEYED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 83 pp 162-169

[Book Survey by A. N. Razinkina: "The Problems of the Formation of the Working Class of the Afro-Asian Countries in the Soviet Literature of the 1920s Through the 1970s"]

[Excerpts] The study of the working class of the countries of the East has a tradition of more than a half century in Soviet scholarship. The first works on this topic were published in the early 1920s. Studies in this field were closely connected with and substantially dependent upon work on the general problems of the social and economic development first of the colonial and semi-colonial and, then, of the liberated countries. The question of the development of capitalism in the countries of the East was of especial importance here. The scope and level of the study of the problems of the formation of the working class in domestic scholarship were to a large extent also determined by the development of the subjective study itself--the working class and, on the whole, the social structure of the Afro-Asian societies--which underwent a complex and significant evolution during the period under review.

In the 1960s and 1970s the problem of the formation of the proletariat continued to be one of the important directions of the study of the working class and reflected definite changes in the approach of Soviet Orientalists to the study of the processes of class formation in the developing countries. In the 1960s there was a substantial increase in the amount of Oriental studies literature devoted to the working class,<sup>15</sup> which created a substantially wider factographic basis for the study of the problems of the formation of the proletariat in the countries of the East. The subject of study during this period was the working class during the period of independent political development, and the new sources for filling its ranks were analyzed. In view of the change in the social structure of the developing countries under independence, Soviet scholars began to give more attention to the urban middle strata, including the petty tradesmen, Lumpen-proletariat, and so forth.<sup>16</sup>

Of great interest, in our view, is the work by L. A. Gordon and L. A. Fridman, "The Social Structure of Society and the Working Class of the Developing Countries of Asia and Africa,"<sup>17</sup> which traces the place and role of the process of the formation of the working class in the establishment and development of the social structure of the societies of the developing countries. It makes

one of the first attempts to examine the basic classes of the developing countries through the prism of social and economic structures. Classes of the present type in the non-socialist countries of Asia and Africa, the authors note, are connected with a large capitalist economy. The level and conditions of the development of this system determine the character of the classes which are based in it. The smaller proportion of the large capitalist system compared with the developed countries gives rise to the relatively small contemporary proletariat.<sup>18</sup> The merit of these investigators is that they have shown in what way the economic and social structure of the developing countries influences the class nature of the proletariat and the groups adjoining it. Special mention should be made of the diagram of social structure which is given by the authors (see p. 33).

L. A. Gordon and L. A. Fridman have in fact created a model of a social structure that takes account of the nature of an economic system and makes it possible to understand what factors belong to the general laws of the developing countries, and which are characteristic of individual countries. This method of investigation was later used by Soviet scholars in studying the formation, size, and position of the working class in individual countries.<sup>19</sup>

The wide front of research in the 1960s on the economic and social processes taking place in the developing countries, and the enormous amount of information built up as a result of this, plus the higher level of the scientific analysis of the complex reality of the Afro-Asian world created the preconditions for the development by Soviet Orientalists and Africanists in the first half of the 1970s of generalized theoretical schemes of the development of the liberated countries: conceptions of mixed economy and of dependent development.<sup>20</sup> This general rise in the theoretical level of the studies in the scholarship on the developing countries could not but be reflected in the study of the problems in the formation of the working class of the Afro-Asian countries. In the 1970s in this area of scholarship also there is a turn toward the solution of methodological problems and toward a search for new approaches. Note should be taken first of all of two directions of this search: an endeavour to interpret the processes of the formation of the working class in the context of generalized models of the Afro-Asian world and the development of a methodology for studying the formation of the working class in the developing countries.

A number of investigators examined the formation of classes, including the working class, within the framework of the conception of a mixed economy to whose development a large contribution was made by A. I. Levkovskiy. He noted that a dominant method of production had not yet taken shape in the developing countries, that various forms of social relations coexisted there, and that their concrete expression was a stable mixed economic system as the objective basis of all economic processes. The "fractioned nature" of capitalism engenders a fractioning of the classes connected with it and manifests itself directly in the special features of the formation and present state of the proletariat.<sup>21</sup> Manufacturing, factory, trade, and agricultural workers exist in relative isolation from one another, with, moreover, the latter being divided into permanent and temporary workers and local and arrived workers.<sup>22</sup>

True, as early as the beginning of the 1960s some Soviet Orientalists observed that the structure of the working class of the countries of the East reflects the diversity of the forms of the development of capitalism. Thus, M. N. Yegorova wrote that the Indian industrial proletariat consisted of workers of simple capitalist cooperation, capitalist manufacturing, and large machine industry in the full diversity of the various transitional forms of capitalist industry.<sup>23</sup> But only in the 1970s does it become obvious that the problems of economic system and class come together in the closest way.

The method proposed by A. I. Levkovskiy found an application in the concrete studies by certain authors of the social structure of the developing countries. Thus, E. P. Konoplev analyzed the processes of reproduction in each economic structure, including the reproduction of labor power, and the action of the laws which are internally inherent in the economic structure. Within each structure the reproduction of labor power is achieved on the basis of its own laws; at the same time, it experiences the deforming influence of external forces. For example, the natural-patriarchal structure supplies labor power for other economic structures and thereby fosters its expanded reproduction. In this way, the elements of expanded reproduction in this economic structure manifest themselves only in interaction with other economic structures. When this kind of connection does not exist, a simple or even a restricted reproduction is dominant in the given structure with the result that there appears a surplus of labor power and it flows into other sectors of the economy. A so-called divided reproduction of labor power occurs when the wages of a worker are unable to ensure the normal reproduction of the worker and his family within the limits of a single structure. As a consequence of this, a subsidiary consumer economy becomes developed within the other economic structure.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, E. P. Konoplev examined only one aspect in the system of mixed economic structures: which structures supply and which consume labor power. At the first stage a characterization of each structure is given, and its political and economic nature is defined, but the structure is looked upon as an isolated economic category in a static situation. Then all the parts are united and examined as a whole in the reproduction process; and the entire complex mechanism of the mixed economy is analyzed as a part of the world capitalist economy.<sup>25</sup> The work of S. I. Kuznetsova and L. A. Fridman<sup>26</sup> in solving the methodological problems of studying the working class is of interest: they have proposed the introduction of a system of indicators which make it possible to determine the limits of the concept of "working class" and the specific nature of its formation in the developing countries. This is the first attempt in the Soviet literature to disclose the concrete parameters of the socio-economic maturity of a working class. Thus, S. I. Kuznetsova and L. A. Fridman believe that in order to study the social structure of the African city it is very important to clarify at which state of formation the proletariat is, and whether or not the nucleus of permanent workers is large. This cannot be judged on the basis of any single, albeit very important, characteristic. It is essential to develop a system of interconnected indicators which testify to the degree of the objective maturity of the industrial proletariat and which embrace not only the sphere of production, but also the way of life and the spiritual world of the worker.<sup>27</sup>

Toward this end, the authors have proposed introducing demographic, economic, and social indicators.

Other investigators working in the field of the methodology of studying the working class emphasize that the process of the formation of the factory-plant proletariat is many-sided, and that its study presupposes an overall investigation of the socio-economic, socio-psychological, and political and ideological preconditions for this process. The first step in this direction was taken by I. V. Danilevich in the article, "On the Leninist Methodology of Investigating and Evaluating the Maturity of the Working Class."<sup>28</sup> She concretized with regard to the developing countries important methodological definitions of the socio-economic and political maturity of the proletariat. I. V. Danilevich believes that it is only possible to speak about the socio-economic maturity of the working class when the filling of its ranks occurs chiefly on the basis of natural reproduction, when more or less stable and numerous cadres of workers connected with factory-plant production have been formed, and when there occurs a final "separation" of the industrial proletariat from the remaining mass of the workers.<sup>29</sup> Basing herself on Leninist methodology, I. V. Danilevich determined the degree of the proletariat's political maturity: the separation of the working class into a politically independent class and its consciousness of its independence; the working class' consciousness of the necessity for its hegemony in the revolution and its realization of it; and the working class' consciousness of the necessity for its dictatorship and its realization of it. The movement from one degree of political maturity to the other expresses a qualitative change in the condition of the working class.<sup>30</sup>

The fullest presentation of the methodology for investigating the formation of the working class is in the report by A. V. Gudymenko, "On the Question of the Marxist-Leninist Methodology of Studying the Proletariat in the Developing Countries,"<sup>31</sup> in which an attempt is made to create a generalized model of the formation of the working class. A. V. Gudymenko emphasizes that when they examined the problems of class formation and class struggle the founders of Marxism-Leninism used various but interconnected systems of ideas (sets of social dismemberment criteria) in relation to the level of generalization. On the philosophical and sociological level of analysis (the level of the historical materialist theory of social development) K. Marx characterized classes in terms of a "pure" or dichotomous (two-member) model of socio-class structure, which makes it possible to determine the chief motive forces of social development at various historic stages. At the next--concrete historical--level he analyzed classes in terms of the numerous models of socio-class structure. The gradualness (stage-by-stage) formation of classes is one of the general laws of class formation that was formulated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism. The "ideal" model of class formation, according to A. V. Gudymenko, consists of the initial and final points and conditions of the transpiration of the process. Correspondingly, the two qualitatively different conditions of class are: elementary--"class in itself"--or unconstituted class; and a final--"class for itself," or constituted class. As a result of his investigation A. V. Gudymenko distinguishes three levels of the establishment of the proletariat: the formation of the socio-economic preconditions; the crystallization of the social and socio-psychological conditions for the constitution of a class;

and political and ideological maturing. When an ideal model of class formation is "superimposed" on a definite social context, the process of the constituting of the working class is studied in connection with the entire complex of existing economic, socio-cultural, political, and ideological conditions which are to be concretely analyzed and which do not determine the mechanism of the process, but only influence the form in which it manifests itself.

In the literature on nations which is devoted to the formation of the working class in the Afro-Asian countries and which appeared in the 1970s there is a reflection of the searches in the field of the theory of the development of the liberated states and in the field of methodology of investigating the formation of the working class about which we have written above. Special mention should be made in this connection of the monograph by V. F. Vasil'yev.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, the study of the problem of the formation of the working class of the developing countries has gone through three basic stages. This problem was gradually subjected to a deeper analysis: from a rather "narrow" one in the 1920s and 1930s (an analysis of the sources of labor power), and a broader one in the 1950s and 1960s (a study of the formation of the hired labor market and country-studies works), it "matured" into a complex phenomenon in the 1970s. This problem has begun to be examined in close connection with and in the context of the general problems of the developing countries, with the emphasis on the methodological side of the question.

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2959

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## NEW WORKS BY SOVIET ETHIOPIAN SCHOLARS REVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 83 pp 169-175

[Article by M. L. Vol'te: "New Works by Soviet Ethiopian Scholars"]

[Excerpts] In recent years the research of Soviet Ethiopian scholars has become markedly activated, and this is understandable. The revolutionary processes which have radically changed Ethiopia require a comprehensive interpretation. Soviet scholars have published a number of works which illuminate both the general and the particular questions of Ethiopian history, geography, literature, and so forth.

The influence of the national democratic revolution on all of the aspects of the life of contemporary Ethiopia is enormous and it is for this reason that these problems are at the center of the attention of Soviet students. The very list of their published works bears witness to the range of their research. In this connection, let us mention the collection "The National Democratic Revolution in Ethiopia" (Moscow, 1976), the analytic reviews of G. D. Starushenko, "The Consolidation of the Revolution's Gains in Ethiopia and the Experience of the Socialist Orientation Countries" (Moscow, 1979) and Anatoliy A. Gromyko, "Soviet-Ethiopian Relations. The Study of Ethiopia in the USSR" (Moscow, 1979), and the publicistic essays of A. G. Kokiyeu, "Ethiopia Builds a New Life" (Moscow, 1977) and V. I. Korovikov "Ethiopia--Years of Revolution" (Moscow, 1979).

A substantial contribution to domestic Ethiopian studies was made by the monograph by G. L. Gal'perin, "Ethiopia: Population, Resources, and Economy" (Moscow, 1978). This is a first detailed study in the Russian language which generalizes the existing information on the geographical regionalization of the country and which provides a review of its economy as a whole and of its branches. The difficulty of the task facing the author was aggravated by the relative meagreness and sometimes contradictoriness of the statistical, cartographic, and other materials which resulted in G. L. Gal'perin frequently having to make his own calculations on the basis of diverse sources.

The book describes the natural and climatic conditions of the country, and its ethnic composition; a demographic characterization of the population and of migrations is given; and a vast amount of material is cited on the population's rural and urban settlements, vocational and branch employment, and sex

and age structure. This analysis of the demographic situation in contemporary Ethiopia is especially useful since it is precisely this aspect that is poorly treated in the scholarly literature.

Another group of questions is connected with the economic situation of Ethiopia. The country's basic productive forces are concentrated in the village. An exacerbation of the contradictions in the sphere of agrarian relations was one of the chief factors that gave rise to the 1974 revolution. A radical solution of the land question in favor of the broad masses of the have-not peasantry is a fundamental achievement of the Ethiopian revolution. Speaking about its exceptionally great economic and political importance, G. L. Gal'perin notes that "the realization of the agrarian reform, especially beginning with 1977, led to an unprecedented activization of the peasantry and to a mass movement by it to the side of the revolution" (p 151).

The book characterizes the basic branches of agricultural production, and also industry, the crafts, and trade. On the whole, the economy of monarchic Ethiopia was a stagnant one, but in individual branches of production there was nevertheless some growth. In the book by G. L. Gal'perin this circumstance is not noted with sufficient clarity. It would have been useful to draw parallels with the economic situation, for example, of the middle 1960s. With this kind of comparison the processes which are characteristic of a contemporary national economy would have been clearer.

While G. L. Gal'perin examines the changes which have occurred in the country's economy since 1974, in his book "Ethiopia Today" (Moscow, 1978) V. S. Yag'ya analyzes the social and political processes which prepared the collapse of the Emperor's regime and determined the characteristics and prospects of the Ethiopian revolution.

It is customary in Soviet Ethiopian studies to distinguish six stages in the most recent history of Ethiopia: the first--1917-1930, the second--1930-1935, third--1935-1941, fourth--1941-1955, fifth--1956-1974, and sixth--1974 to our day. The composition of V. S. Yag'ya's book reflects this periodization. Western scholars have published quite a few works which tendentiously interpret the events of 20th century Ethiopian history. For this reason, an objective description of the political history of Ethiopia in the most recent times which is based on Marxist-Leninist ideology turns out to be an important argument in the ideological dispute about the paths and place of the developing countries of Africa in the contemporary world.

A large problem the approaches to the solution of which are marked out in the monograph by V. S. Yag'ya is the problem of the formation and specific nature of absolutism during the period of the reign of Haile Selassie I. In the author's opinion, the process of the formation of an absolute monarchy in Ethiopia had concluded by the middle of our century and was juridically consolidated in the 1955 Constitution. It had its existence under the conditions of unceasing attacks by imperialist states on the independence of the country. To a substantial extent, the establishment of the absolute monarchy was a reaction



to the threat from without, although domestic socio-economic and political preconditions also played a role.

Frequently when they write about the personal power regime of Haile Selassie I investigators limit themselves merely to pointing to its repressive and anti-popular essence. However, an objective evaluation of the significance of Ethiopian absolutism for the further fate of the country requires a comprehensive approach to this phenomenon. It is precisely this kind of approach that advantageously distinguishes the work by V. S. Yag'ya from preceding studies. The author correctly observes that the concentration of unlimited power in the hands of the emperor helped to overcome feudal disunity and thereby strengthened the state in the face of the foreign danger. It was under Haile Selassie that capitalist relations were introduced into the country's economy, that a domestic market was formed, the productive forces grew, and new social classes and strata appeared such as the proletariat, the bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia which actively participated in political life. Tendencies which have made their appearance as early as the reign of Menelik II manifested themselves most fully under the rule of this emperor. "In its turn, all of this," V. S. Yag'ya draws the conclusion, "created in the final analysis the objective preconditions for the destruction of absolutism" (p 307).

The concluding chapters of the monograph by V. S. Yag'ya are devoted to an examination of the causes, course, and consequences of the revolutionary transformations which have signified a new era in the country's history. There is not unanimity among specialists with regard to dating the events of the Ethiopian revolution. Thus, G. L. Gal'perin dates the beginning of the revolution as February 1974 when mass strikes took place in Addis Ababa. In March they developed into a powerful national strike. V. S. Yag'ya is inclined to regard the starting point of the revolution as the disturbances which took hold of a number of military units as early as December 1973. The question of a scientifically substantiated dating of the beginning of the revolution in Ethiopia is still an open one. It would appear, however, that G. L. Gal'perin's point of view is more persuasive. It corresponds to the perception of this event by the Ethiopians themselves. It is characteristic that many of the works of the country's contemporary literature depict the February actions by the workers as the first very powerful blow against the monarchy.

Besides history, other humanities subjects are also represented in the publications of recent years by Soviet Ethiopian specialists. The collection "Amharic Folk Tales" (Moscow, 1979) which was prepared by E. B. Gankin turned out to be an interesting one. In addition to folklore texts, it contains an article by Ye. S. Kotlyar which gives a typological analysis of fairy tale plots. The book "The Press of Revolutionary Ethiopia" (Moscow, 1980) by I. F. Kistanova gives an account of the present-day Ethiopian press. The shortcoming of this work is the fact that the book used only a limited amount of material from the English-language newspaper ETHIOPIAN HERALD and made no use at all of materials from the leading press organs in the local languages. In the essay "The Literature of Ethiopia" (Moscow, 1981) the author of these lines attempted to mark out the basic landmarks of the development of national literature.

The collection "Ethiopian Studies. History. Culture" (Moscow, 1981) was published not too long ago. In reviewing it I would like to look at this book not only as a publication which contains articles by well-known Ethiopian scholars, as one of a number of similar publications, but more broadly--as a phenomenon which to a definite extent reflects the tendencies of domestic Ethiopian studies.

The publication of this collection compels one to recall the First All-Union Conference on Ethiopian Studies which took place in Moscow in 1979.\* Despite the great importance of special studies, an overall approach to the country has not exhausted its significance. Unfortunately, for a long time in Soviet Ethiopian studies a tendency toward narrow specialization was not compensated for by the development of overall research. The all-union conference was the measure which had the task of overcoming this disproportion. The conference meetings took place in three sections. In the first economic and political problems were examined, in the second--historical and socio-political, and in the third--linguistics, ethnography, and art. Perhaps the only large branch which was completely unrepresented at the conference was Ethiopian literary studies.

And now readers have received a book which, according to the logic of things, should have consolidated in print this important result of the past forum. Everyone who follows the development of Ethiopian studies perceives the collection under review as a result of the conference--if you wish, as its creature. The collection itself begins with the establishment of this fact: "The reports and communications of the participants of the All-Union Conference on Ethiopian Studies have been placed at the basis of this book. . . . Some of the materials of the Conference were at the basis of the present book" (p 3). Since the reports and communications of the participants at the All-Union Conference have been placed at the basis of the collection, it is appropriate to see which concrete part of the materials has been published in it.

In his review article "The Study of of the Most Recent History of Ethiopia in the Works of Soviet Historians" V. S. Yag'ya critically examines works which have been published in the Soviet Union and which are devoted to such problems as the periodization of the contemporary history of Ethiopia, the character of the monarchic regime of Haile Selassie I, the causes, course, and significance of the revolutionary transformations in the 1970s. As the author observes, Soviet scholars are unanimous regarding the general periodization of the contemporary history of Ethiopia. Their opinions do not always coincide when it is a matter of the individual periodizations of some major events; for example, the struggle against the Italian fascists in 1935-1941, or the revolution of 1974. The formation of Ethiopian absolutism is one of the insufficiently studied questions. V. S. Yag'ya points out that there is not a single special work on this topic. For the sake of justice, it has to be

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\*"All-Union Conference on Ethiopian Studies (Moscow, 19-21 June 1979). Theses of Reports," Moscow, 1979.

said that in his monograph "Ethiopia in Its Most Recent History" this problem figures as one of the basic ones.

The materials which comprise the collection under review graphically demonstrate how much progress has been made by Soviet historians and what their real contribution to this branch of domestic Ethiopian studies has been. One would like, however, to hope that the tradition of overallness in Ethiopian studies will not be consigned to oblivion and that after the holding of the next conference of Soviet Ethiopian specialists the representatives of the various directions of this science will get the opportunity to appear in the press together.

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2959

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BOOK ON ANGOLAN, MOZAMBIKAN, AND GUINEA-BISSAU RULING PARTIES REVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 83 pp 187-192

[Review by L. P. Panchenko of the book "Afrikanskaya Revolyutsionnaya Demokratiya. Ideyno-Politicheskaya Platforma MPLA-The Party of Labor, FRELIMO, i PAIGC" [The African Revolutionary Democracy. The Ideological and Political Platform of the MPLA-Party of Labor, FRELIMO and PAIGC] by O. V. Martyshin, Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 264 pages]

[Text] Let us say right away that the multi-level and substantively rich study which has been undertaken by the author of the book under review of the history, forms, and methods of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde under the leadership of the fighting detachments of the African revolutionary democracy--the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-party of labor FRELIMO [Front for the Liberation of Mozambique], and PAIGC [African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde]--merits a high evaluation. This is not only and not so much because of the diversity of the problems which are examined in the monograph, but above all because of the breadth of the generalizations and the depth of his work on difficult and to date relatively little studied questions connected with the evolution of the ideological and political platforms of the revolutionary democratic parties whose present-day leaders, overcoming enormous difficulties, drawing experience from the reformist and overly leftist errors committed by their predecessors, are accomplishing the tasks of national reconstruction and of the creation of a new society of social progress.

Within the framework of this review we would like to consider only some of the problems which are posed in the monograph.

The problem of the selection of the forms and methods of struggle for national liberation, as O. V. Martyshin rightly observes, was one of the basic ones for the PAIGC, MPLA, and FRELIMO. In solving it, they base themselves on the historical experience of the partisan movements which had become widespread after the end of World War II. Popular armed resistance to imperialist exploitation had demonstrated its effectiveness in Cuba, Algeria, Vietnam, and other countries. At the same time, there are quite a few examples of the defeat of the partisan actions of revolutionary forces which were unable to rise to the level of a genuine popular war: the Philippines in the early 1950s, Peru in 1964-1966, and others. Two directions of a theoretical understanding of

the process of armed resistance to imperialism developed in the colonial and dependent countries. The representatives of one of them interpret partisan war as a lawful consequence of growing popular protest in various forms, and as an engenderment of the entire totality of socio-political conditions. The author calls the second direction an "ideology of partisan war," since its adherents reduced their revolutionary activities solely to this form of resistance (p 102).

An attempt to look upon the entire totality of socio-political conditions exclusively through the prism of partisan actions is especially graphic in the "Focism"\* of R. Debre. During the period of the development of the liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies conceptions of "Focism" which regarded an uprising in the light of "revolutionary romanticism" were very popular. It is these conceptions which made up the material "with which the patriots of the Portuguese colonies had to deal" when they analyzed the preceding experience of revolutionary struggle (p 103). However, after critically interpreting all of the preceding experience of struggle, the parties which led the liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies did not absolutize its armed forms. The author convincingly shows that the partisan war in the Portuguese colonies was the final means to which they had been pushed by the colonizers. But even in armed struggle the fighters for liberation did not reject the use of peaceful means, looking upon them as an important factor in the political education of the masses, and as an opportunity to reveal to world public opinion the true meaning of their struggle and to unmask the goals of the colonizers.

The author's analysis of the conditions which determine the expediency of the use of armed forms of struggle is of considerable interest. The experience of the armed actions of liberation movements in a number of countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America bear witness to a definite underestimation or failure to understand the Leninist theses regarding revolutionary strategy and tactics. Sometimes violence was interpreted as the creative principle of revolution, and not as a form into which an objectively developed revolutionary process flowed. The thesis that the objective preconditions for revolution were always in existence since they are engendered by the irreconcilability of the conflict between oppressed peoples and imperialism received a considerable currency. The subjective preconditions are created by a group of revolutionaries. In this way, the Marxist understanding of a revolutionary situation as an objective phenomenon was rejected, and the idea was implanted that a revolutionary situation is created by a group of daring people. This kind of conception, in particular, was elevated to the rank of theory in the well-known book by R. Debre "A Revolution in Revolution?"

During the 1970s revolutionary practice introduced substantial correctives into revolutionary theory. Under the influence of the lessons of history,

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\*From "Foco" (Spanish)--hearth. What is meant is the hearth of the partisan movement from which the flame of revolutionary struggle is supposed to spread over an entire country.

many supporters of the absolutization of armed action were compelled to review their ideas. R. Debre, for example, subjected the conception of "focism" with regard to the relationship between political and military action to self-criticism.

As for the leaders of the PAIGC, MPLA, and FRELIMO, as is shown in the book under review, they performed preliminary political preparations for military actions throughout the entire length of their armed struggle. In Guinea-Bissau this period included three years of strenuous and difficult work to involve the peasantry in the resistance movement. As is emphasized by O. V. Martyshin, "the question does not reduce itself to what follows what: political work or military actions? It is much broader: what is the relationship between the political and the military aspects in a movement of popular armed resistance to imperialism?" (p 122).

Correct understanding of the relationship between the political and military aspects in the revolutionary process takes on a practical significance not only in the solution of the problem regarding the leadership of the movement, but also during the period of the construction of the new life. The latter circumstance is especially important in analyzing, for example, such a widespread phenomenon in the developing countries as state coups which are frequently carried out on behalf of or with the assistance of the armed forces which allegedly have some kind of "historic right" to this. The leaders of the revolutionary democratic parties in the countries being examined proceed from the priority of political work over military action. They show tireless concern that feelings of insularity or of superiority to the popular masses do not become widespread in the armed forces. In this connection, the problem of the "army and the party" which is posed by the author is very timely. It is known that in the scholarly literature, especially in the that of the bourgeois West, there is a tendency to identify an army which operates under the conditions of a military regime with a party.

This methodological position is partly caused by the fact that frequently military people display an endeavour to establish their "independence of view," and, in fact, to validate the right of the armed forces to a "special ideology" in contradistinction to the ideological and political "party" struggle.

Such ideological orientations which are repeated in the most diverse variations are explained to a large extent by the basic contradiction of the social revolution in the young independent states--a contradiction between the revolutionary essence of the social goals which are put forward and the available social means for realizing them, that is, the objective socio-economic preconditions. This presupposes the necessity for well-directed ideological work in the army, and for a correct understanding of the character of its real role as an institution which objectively has been advanced under the concrete conditions of one or another country to the vanguard of the political process in society. Only a party which does not separate the army from society, but unites them in a common whole is able to successfully cope with such a highly difficult task. The complicated evolutionary path which has been traversed by the Syrian and Iraqi armed forces, and by the armies of Nigeria, Ghana, the Republic of Benin, and of other African countries convincingly testifies to the fact that

this process is inseparable from the process of the democratic evolution of the whole of society. In addition, it has to be considered that an incorrectly understood and resolved problem of "the army--the party" can lead to the halting of the process of democratic development both in society and in the army, and sometimes to a backward movement.

In view of the complexity and many-sidedness of the problem of "the army--the party," O. V. Martyshin's well-argued critique of R. Debre's position which in its time nullified the role of a mass vanguard party is of unquestionable value. He rejected the work methods characteristic of the Marxist-Leninist parties, and the enormous many-sided experience in leading the struggle of the workers which had been amassed by them. "R. Debre's position," the author emphasizes, "represents liquidationism not only with respect to various concrete parties, but, in principle, also with respect to their school of political, ideological, and economic struggle" (p 123). He did not understand why a party was needed in general: "Basically, the party is the army," R. Debre argued. One cannot but agree with the well-grounded conclusion of O. V. Martyshin: "To assert that the party is identical to the army means, in fact, to attempt to abolish the vanguard party, and to replace it with an organization which has in advance limited the sphere of its activities to purely military tasks and interests. This is to disregard politics in the name of narrowly and, therefore, incorrectly understood military interests" (p 124).

The leaders of the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique came up against such tendencies. How concretely they manifested themselves, and how the struggle against them occurred, O. V. Martyshin, unfortunately, does not show. But from the statement by A. Kabral at a seminar of PAIGC workers in 1969 in which it is emphasized that "the armed forces have to respect the slogans, plans, and directives which have been formulated by the top party leadership" it follows that the problem of "army--party" existed. The state coup in November in 1980 in Guinea-Bissau once again confirmed the necessity for a correct understanding and solution of it. And the arguments about a "mania for militarism" in the army which is discussed in the PAIGC documents cited by the author testify to a simplified understanding of such an unsimple problem as the relationships between army and party.

The complexity and uniqueness of the situation also consists in the fact that the parties in the countries being examined were created from above by an active minority as "vanguard parties without a vanguard class" (p 199). We are speaking not about parties of a vanguard class, but about parties which take upon themselves the mission of preparing a vanguard class. This is an exceptionally difficult task which is eloquently described by the statement by A. Kabral: "We looked for a working class in Guinea-Bissau and did not find it" (p 184). There is genuine drama in his words to the effect that happiness cannot be gotten for the people without it or against its will, and that when the masses do not support the plans of the vanguard, the latter should stop and wait until the conditions for the transformations they have planned are right (p 218).

Taking account of the laws of the stage of national liberation, the revolutionary democrats tried within its framework to map out the bases of fundamental

social changes. At the new stage of independent development the center of gravity shifted to problems of the social revolution. Proceeding from the concrete conditions and characteristics of their countries, each of three parties adopted program documents at their congresses (1977) which were characterized by socialist orientation principles. Moreover, the parties were "far from proclaiming socialism an immediate goal, and from identifying the stage being lived through with the socialist revolution" (p 148).

In seeking to solve such a key problem as the attitude toward national capital and toward national bourgeois elements, the PAIGC, FRELIMO, and MPLA sought to avoid two extremes: on the one hand, a denial of the struggle of classes which leads to the hegemony of the bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist front and, on the other, a leftish intolerance toward alliance or cooperation with the bourgeoisie or with bourgeois elements. In practice this problem was solved with much more difficulty than in theory. In this connection, the book poses a problem which is of great importance for revolutionary theory and practice: "What is one to do about a single anti-imperialist front when the working class and its party does not have sufficient possibilities for leading the national movement?" (p 166).

Using an analysis of the ideological platforms of F. Fanon and K. Nkruma as an example, the author shows that tendencies toward excluding the national bourgeoisie from the anti-imperialist forces occurred in certain of the countries of the African continent. As for the parties of the revolutionary democrats which are being examined here, they did not regard the stage of the conquest of independence as a border beyond which cooperation with a patriotic bourgeoisie becomes impossible. At the same time, account was taken of the fact that during the last years of their dominion the colonizers had been concerned to establish connections with the national bourgeoisie, seeing an ally in it. For this reason, while admitting and recognizing the usefulness of the national bourgeoisie in the economic sphere, in the countries where revolutionary democratic parties are in power it is squeezed out of the sphere of political leadership.

The weakness of the working class and of national capital--the two forces which make claims to the leadership of the national movement--determines the importance of the problem of the attitude toward intermediate strata which the author, following the terminology of the documents studied by him, does not always validly call "petty bourgeois strata" (p 185). National reformists look upon this strata, especially the intelligentsia, as the best representatives and expressors of the interests of the people, ignoring its vacillation between the workers and the exploiters. Left radical circles are inclined toward another extreme--a nihilistic attitude toward the revolutionary potential of this stratum. As the author emphasizes, despite their seeming revolutionary spirit, such attitudes originate precisely in a petty bourgeois milieu.

In making a proper evaluation of the revolutionary potential of the intermediate strata, all three parties took account of the exceptional complexity of the development of a revolution in which these circles take upon themselves the mission "which is placed by the normal course of history on the vanguard of the working class" (p 188). Thus, in a 2 November 1979 statement of the Politburo



of the MPLA Central Committee it was emphasized that in order to achieve its goals the petty bourgeoisie makes use of corruption, protectionism, intrigue, and so forth in its veiled opposition to the ideas of socialism (p 190).

O. V. Martyshin writes about the reasons for the seemingly hasty endeavour to expropriate the petty bourgeoisie which led to an exacerbation of economic difficulties. The fact is that during the first months of independence this stratum posed a threat to the very existence of the vanguard parties. Possessing a certain educational level, representatives of the petty bourgeoisie seized key posts, frequently camouflaging themselves as revolutionaries, and sabotaged the execution of decisions. A resolute struggle was waged against this which sometimes led to extremes. As the new power became stabilized, conditions were created for the development of private initiative in the economy under control by the state. This was reflected in the permitting of private enterprise, small-scale commerce, the individual construction of homes, and so forth. At the same time, private initiative was subordinated to the political goals of the vanguard parties.

On the whole, the book under review was characterized by a realistic understanding of the problems of the contemporary African revolutionary democracy, and of the very difficult situations which arise in these countries. At the same time, it has to be observed that the optimistic tone of the narrative is not always sufficiently connected with concrete country material. It is basically the views of R. Debre, F. Fanon, and K. Nkruma which are the target of criticism. Sometimes the impression is created that the difficulties which the revolutionary democrats come up against are basically difficulties of a subjective nature which have been engendered by alien ideological influences, or by poor theoretical thinking. Yet, the entire material of the book brings one to a different conclusion: the reason for the errors which have been committed by the revolutionary democrats consists of gigantic difficulties of an objective character--a weak economic base, an imprecise class differentiation, and mass illiteracy--everything that V. I. Lenin called "patriarchalism" and "real savagery." "It is not so very difficult today," O. V. Martyshin writes in another one of his works, "to master the theoretical principles of scientific socialism."\* Indeed, present-day revolutionary democrats are not experiencing a shortage of theoretical materials. The main thing is to skillfully apply the propositions of theory in practice, and on the basis of practice to penetrate deeply into the essence of theory. Without this ability, the mastery of theoretical principles leads to a sterile memorization of individual revolutionary slogans, and to a separation from actual reality. I think that the author had the opportunity to show how the revolutionary democrats of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau learn not only from others', but also from their own mistakes. And this would have helped the Soviet reader to appreciate even more the heroic

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\*O. V. Martyshin, "The Revolutionary Process in the East," Moscow, 1982, p 228.

feat which is being accomplished by the revolutionaries for whom the construction of a just new society is the work of their entire lives.

It is gratifying that an interesting new and important work which summons one to reflection and stimulates scientific searches has appeared among the Soviet studies which generalize the historic experience of the socialist orientation countries.

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2959

CSO: 1870/261

BOOK VIEWS LEBANESE MARONITES AS 'ETHNOCONFESSIONAL' COMMUNITY

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[Review by M. Yu. Roshchin of book "Maronity (iz Etnokonfessional'noy Istorii Vostochnogo Sredizemnomor'ya)" [The Maronites (From the Ethnoconfessional History of the Eastern Mediterranean)], Main Editorial Board for Eastern Literature of the "Nauka" Publishing House, Moscow, 1982, 136 pages plus bibliography]

[Text] The book is devoted to one of the unique population groups of the Near East. It is obvious that the Maronites are not an individual nation, as certain ideologists of this community assert. But, at the same time, it cannot be denied that the Maronites as a population group which lives chiefly in Lebanon are characterized by features which distinguish it religiously and ethnically from other Lebanites. As the author rightly points out, the Maronites can be aptly characterized by the term "ethnoconfessional community" which has been put forward by the Soviet ethnographers S. I. Bruk, N. N. Chepoksarov, and Ya. V. Chesnov (p 6). Thus, M. A. Rodinov had, on the one hand, to carefully trace the basic stages of the history of the Maronite community and reveal its specific ethnographic nature, and, on the other, to refine the very concept of "ethnoconfessional community" on the basis of its example. In the author's words, the goal of his work is a study of the relationship between confessional and ethnic using the Lebanese Maronites as an example (p 6).

There are numerous sources on the problem of the Maronites, and the literature is vast. This demanded from the author an analysis and interpretation of existing information, and also the reconstruction of the physiognomy of the community which in the depiction of Maronite and Western investigators frequently looks tendentious. In view of the contradictory nature of the factual data this task is not a simple one. The book's first chapter contains a review of the basic stages of the history of the Maronites. The author has succeeded in summarizing an enormous amount of historical material in it clearly and convincingly demonstrates, to the extent that this is permitted by the sources, the process of the establishment of the Maronite Church (the second half of 1000 A.D.). According to tradition, it is believed that the Maronites are the only direct descendants of the supporters of monophyletism in Christianity.\* This assertion is very debatable, especially since the Maronites themselves

\*Monophyletism was an attempt to compromise orthodoxy and monophysitism: it asserted that "in Christ, while there are two beings, there exists only one will." See: V. S. Solov'yev, "Monophyletism," The Brockhaus and Yefron Encyclopedic Dictionary, Vol. XIX A, St. Petersburg, 1896, p 788.

deny it. In any case, today the Maronites are consistent supporters of Catholicism. M. A. Rodionov notes that the Maronite Patriarchate's ties to Rome go back to the times of the Crusades. It is since that time that the Maronites became the most faithful allies of the Roman Catholic Church in the Near East. The ties to Rome weaken in the XIII-XIV centuries, but grow strong again beginning with the XVI century.

In the XVIII-XIX centuries the characteristics of the Lebanese socium which is characterized by the substantial role of the confessional factor in the country's economics and politics begin to take quite clear shape. As the author shows, the Maronite community becomes the nucleus of the emerging social and political structure of Lebanon. The conflict between the Druze and the Maronites in the middle of the XIX century was clothed in a confessional form, but caused first of all by social and economic contradictions, since the Druze sheiks were the country's most important feudalists, but most of the peasants belonged to the Maronites. This conflict led to the creation of the Lebanese Muta Sarafi (an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire) in which the Maronite commune began to play a dominating role. The Maronites comprised most of the population of the Muta Sarafi, and thanks to the annulment of all feudal privileges, the Maronite Church "became the most powerful traditional organization in Lebanon" (p 51). In contemporary Lebanon which became independent in 1943 the Maronites comprised the largest confessional group in the population and occupy leading social and political positions in the country.

In the second chapter, for the first time in the Soviet literature, a full ethnographic characterization of the Maronite community is given. There is a detailed analysis here of the distinctive features of the Maronites' way of life, their traditional activities, family and marital relationships, and calendar customs and rites. This part of the study is written solidly and informatively.

The section of this chapter entitled "Evolution of the Communal Self-Consciousness of the Lebanese Maronites in Relation to Maronite Historiography of the XVI-XX Centuries," is original in its conception. However, the reader will look in vain for an analysis in it, or, at least, a review of the evolution of communal self-consciousness. The views and conceptions of some Maronite historians are described in the section, and that is all. Even the very term "evolution" is not to be met a single time in the text. The author himself observes that "the Maronite historical works of the XV-XX centuries preserve typical features of the medieval chronicles" (p 105); that is, the communal self-consciousness which is reflected in them is constant. For not entirely clear reasons, the book gives arbitrary spellings of a number of well-known Lebanese surnames: for example, the largest Druze clan is for some reason named "Dzhambalat" (p 33), instead of the form "Dzhumblat" which is generally accepted in Russian orthography, and which, incidentally, almost fully corresponds to present Arab pronunciation). On page 21 there is the "Manov" clan, instead of the "Maanov," and the Lebanese region "Kisravan," instead of the generally used "Kesruan" (p 22). Sometimes one encounters an imprecise use of terms (for example, "diotsez" instead of "eparkhiya" (p 20).

The problem of the relationship between the confessional and ethnic aspects as it is reflected in the formation of small religious communities as a whole is still far from solution, but it is important that a number of Soviet scholars have begun to study it.\* A study of ethnoconfessional communities graphically demonstrates the close interconnection between ethnic evolution and the special characteristics of social and political development in various regions. In concrete cases, religion can also become an ethno-forming factor, as is shown in the work by M. A. Rodionov.

Lebanon in this sense is, perhaps, a unique example in which the ethnoconfessional factor plays a key role in the domestic political life of the country. The reasons for the Lebanese events of recent years are to a substantial degree explained by the specific nature of the Lebanese confessional structure. The role of the Maronite community in the political life of the country as a result of the social and political processes caused both by domestic conflicts and by Israel's intervention has become important again. In the light of the present situation in the Near East a study of the ethnoconfessional communities not only of Lebanon, but also of other countries of the region is an urgent and important task.

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\*See, for example: A. N. Ipatov, "The Mennonites (Problems of the Formation and Evolution of an Ethnoconfessional Community)," Moscow, "Mysl'," 1978.

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2959

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